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ABSTRACT

The following papers dealing with education in Ireland are presented: "The Fortunes of Education as a Subject of Study and of Research in Ireland" (John Coolahan); "The Irish Charter Schools: The Grand Design in Principle and Practice" (Kenneth Milne); "Quaker Education in 18th and 19th Century Ireland" (Cyril G. Brannigan); "Images of Women in Nineteenth Century Schoolbooks" (Lorcan Walsh); "An Assessment of Rev. Professor Timothy J. Corcoran's Major Works in the Field of Irish Educational Historiography" (James G. Deegan); "St. Dominic's--The Rise and Fall of a Training College 1907-1924" (Finbarr O'Driscoll); "One Approach to Moral Education for Secondary Schools in the United States" (Gerald M. Reagan); "Language Manipulation: Doublespeak in Education" (Richard Pratte); "Some Curricular Aspects of Social and Civic Education in Ireland, 1966-1984" (Mairtin Fahy); "What Use Is Day Release?" (J. R. McCarthy); "Compensation for Deficiencies in the Second-Level System" (Tom Baum and Linda McLoughlin); "Summer Recreation Provision in America and Northern Ireland - A Comparative Overview" (Paul G. J. Anthony); "Rethinking the Nature of Educational Studies" (Padraig Hogan); "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of the Disciplines (Theorising about Theory of Education)" (Michael McKeown); "Some Philosophical Issues Relating to the Identification of Education with the Development of Reason" (Peter J. Gargan); "Predicting Success in First University Examinations in Home Economics Colleges of Education" (Eamonn O'Baiollain); "Imagination: That One Talent That Lies Buried" (Seamus V. O'Suilleabhain); and "School Choice and School Catchment: Post-Primary Education in Galway City" (Seamus Grimes). (RM)

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General Editor's Comment

It gives me great pleasure to be able to announce that for the second year running Irish Educational Studies will appear in two numbers. This fact serves to underline the increasing interest in educational enquiry in Ireland and it is with a great sense of satisfaction that these papers are published for all of those interested in education, both at home and abroad.

Educational research and scholarly studies act as a mirror to the face of a culture. These researches enable one to 'see' rather than simply 'look' and therefore serve to illuminate and deepen our educational imagination and understanding. Fortunately we are able to see more of that separate reality of the educational culture from the labours of the authors contained in both numbers of Volume 4 of Irish Educational Studies. We will know something of the metaphysical shape of this world and the logic of the actors in these scenes, as well as the rituals, myths, ceremonies and other symbolic rites of passage that are acted out. This is the special contribution that educational research and scholarly enquiry brings to the mediation of Irish culture. The Presidential Address, by Dr. John Coolahan, demonstrates something of the history of the field of 'education' in Ireland and points to the emerging community of interest for the many agencies involved in education. The Educational Studies Association was formally established to cultivate that discourse.

One of the striking features of these papers is the geometric level of change in education. Change not only in terms of programmes and courses of study in schools, but in educational policies, and, perhaps more significantly, social-psychological beliefs, attitudes and values shared by all those individuals in the educational market-place which can only be described as open-minded, and, which view innovation as the norm, rather than the exception demanding that teachers carefully monitor and describe their attempts at experimentation. This latter task is crucial if education is to progress in this country. One of the founding fathers of Sociology, Georg Simmel remarked:

> Nothing more can be attempted than to establish the beginning and direction of an infinitely long road. The pretension of any systematic and definitive completeness would be, at least, a self-illusion. Perfection can here be obtained by the individual student only in the subjective sense that he communicates everything he has been able to see.

It is in this special sense of "seeing" that I ask all of those engaged in the world of education to become good researchers of their own practice and give us 'thick description fed by understanding. We must be able to not only narrate and describe educational phenomena, but we must be able to justify and evaluate these phenomena. What this means is that each educator will have a disposition to critically and systematically examine one's own educational setting. It is not enough that outside 'experts' trained in social research methods study educational settings - teachers and others need to become more skilled researchers and reporters. I believe that education, and particularly school curriculum, will not make significant advances on past practice until we have evolved a more effective system of research and curriculum development in which teachers are supported by outside researchers and that a more thorough commitment is given to action research methodology than to natural science models of educational research. This is a significant part of the great challenge of change in Irish education.

Jim McKernan
General Editor,
University College Dublin.
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THE FORTUNES OF EDUCATION AS A SUBJECT OF STUDY AND OF RESEARCH IN IRELAND

John Coolahan

Introduction

When one examines the traditional pattern of the study of Education in modern Ireland one is struck by its very chequered history. There have been periods of breakthrough, promise and of serious concern for its promotion. These were succeeded, however, by long valley-periods where the approach to the subject was unimaginative, instrumental and intellectually shallow. Regrettably the latter was the more predominant pattern. One considers that an appraisal of this tradition is important for a number of reasons. It is a topic of considerable interest in itself. It is a topic which has been very much neglected in published research. The strength or weakness of educational studies has had an intimate bearing on the quality of the education system in modern Ireland. One asserts that the neglect of educational studies has been a weakness in the intellectual and cultural life of Irish society. Such an appraisal may also be timely in that certain gains which have been made may be under threat through current policies and further desirable developments may be seriously restricted.

An appraisal like this may be desirable but is difficult to achieve in a short paper. Nevertheless, this synoptic presentation attempts to reveal the key approaches to the study of Education, to give some evaluation of them and to establish a perspective from which current developments in the subject can be assessed.

Many relevant questions and much interesting detail are set aside perforce for treatment on other occasions.

Early Conceptions of Education

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and in the wake of the profound societal changes associated with the Agricultural, Industrial and French Revolutions the challenge of providing mass education was faced by many Europen states. It was a period characterised by considerable optimism about the potential of education to lead forward to a new era of progress and civilisation. It was a seminal and rich period for educational theory and experiment. Among the rationalists evolved the view that a Science of Education might be established based on a study of what was termed the science of mind. Brian Simon has written, "The idea that education could be developed as a science, utilising observation and experiment, arose directly from the tradition of English materialist philosophy deriving, in particular, from the work of Hobbes and Locke".[1] Simon went on to examine the work of Joseph Priestley in this regard, but he also acknowledged the work of Richard Lovell Edgeworth.

Edgeworth's Practical Education, published in 1798, was the first full-scale treatise on education by an Irishman and it won an international reputation. Strongly influenced by the Lockean tradition he stated in his preface "Experimental education is yet but in its infancy, and boundless space for improvement remains. To make any progress in the art of education it must be patiently reduced to an experimental science".[2] The long work of twenty-five chapters was a remarkable, if uneven, demonstration of educational principles and practice. While many insights in this book are of perennial value

Edgeworth's system, as he admitted himself, was a beginning rather than a comprehensive system.

What was important was the conception that an understanding of the education process required reflection, reading, and structured experiment by educators; that teaching was worthy of the serious concern of leaders in society. A friend of Edgeworth, Dr. Reuben Bryce in many educational works pressed the cause of Education as an area of study central to establishing teaching as "a fourth profession". In his Plan for System of National Education, in 1828, he wrote:

> All endeavours to improve education, however zealous and generous they may be, must utterly fail as to every purpose of real value, unless means be provided for enabling teachers to study education as a liberal art, founded upon the philosophy of the Human Mind. 3

Bryce urged that Professors in the Art of Teaching be established in the University of Dublin and in regional universities, which should be instituted. In Bryce's view:

> Every teacher, before entering on the duties of his profession ought to make himself acquainted with the Art of Teaching; that is, with a system of rules for communicating ideas and forming habits and ought to obtain such a knowledge of the philosophy of mind as shall enable him to understand the reasons of these rules, and to apply them with judgement and discretion to the great diversity of dispositions with which he will meet, in the course of his professional labour. 4 (Author's underlining).

Thomas Wyse was a contemporary of Edgeworth and Bryce and took a leading role in the establishment of the national school system. In 1836 Wyse published Education Reform, the second large-scale work (and sadly the last) on the theory and practice of Education by an Irishman which won wide international readership. Throughout the

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book Wyse indicated acquaintance with a vast range of educational writing and experiments abroad. In his striking philosophy of the curriculum he differed from Edgeworth in the emphasis he gave to aesthetic education and the cultivation of the imagination. He envisaged long and assiduous preparation by intending teachers. He went on to state:

> The teacher must not only be a perfect master of the various branches of education which he is called upon to teach, but he must also, in addition, be thoroughly acquainted with the art of Education itself. He must understand the science of mind, the principles of instruction, the best methods, the latest improvements; and not only must he understand them, but he must also have so repeatedly exercised them, that their practice shall be as familiar as their theory.[5]

Wyse regarded pre-service training as essential and wrote tellingly of the value of University Chairs of Education for building a teaching profession. He acted as Chairman of the Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland which reported in 1838. Among its wide-ranging proposals it urged a two-year course in central and regional écoles normales for primary teachers. Secondary teachers would benefit from "courses in the art and science of teaching" under professors of education in the universities.[6]

The concern of individuals such as Edgeworth, Bryce and Wyse was to establish a body of knowledge and formalised experience which would establish principles and perspectives on the education process, would urge teachers to understand such principles and inform their teaching with them and would mark out teaching as one of the learned professions. Education was one of the great public issues in the 1830s and it is interesting that one of the earliest societies of Irish teachers we know about - the Armagh Teachers' Society - in 1839 adopted as its principal object "the improvement of the literary and professional character of its members".[7] The first teachers' professional journal in Ireland seems to have been The Schoolmasters' Magazine and Educational Inquirer founded in September 1839. This journal of impressive quality urged its readers to lift their sights towards genuine professional status. It commented:

> Until teaching is studied as an art, and practised on the principles of mental science, you will never be recognised as professional men. You must study Paideutics (sic)" 8

Teachers were urged to set up Teachers' libraries stocked with the works of writers such as Edgeworth, Wyse, Pestalozzi, Hill, Hamilton and journals such as The Journal of Education and The Education Magazine. Teachers were urged to study and discuss these works and "to make the schoolroom the theatre of experiment, testing their utility, and trying whether their opinions suit you as an elementary teacher".[9]

"Education" in the Training College, 1837-1896

The Commissioners of National Education in 1835 and in 1837 set out plans for a two-year pre-service teacher training programme and for the appointment of five Professors to their new Central Training Establishment. The National Board saw itself as moving away from the apprentice tradition of the hedge school and from the mechanical and rote methods of the monitorial system introduced to Ireland by the Kildare Place Society in its model school in 1814. The first Professor of Teaching Method in the Board's Training College, Robert

Sullivan, stated in a lecture delivered to his students on 12 April 1838:

> I would consider it an insult to your understanding to offer a single argument in favour of the new or intellectual system, which indeed, alone deserves the name of education. [10]

The "new or intellectual system" favoured the simultaneous teaching method over the individual and the monitorial instruction methods. Apart from that however, it is not at all clear that the term "intellectual" was appropriate for it. Instead of the two-year training course envisaged, the course was to amount only to four or five months and two professors rather than five were appointed. The main concern of the training course came to be the mastery of the content of the Board's reading books and the content of subjects which could be taught in the national schools. The approach to the study of Education was confined to lectures in teaching method, supplemented with observation and teaching practice in the model school. Thus, was set the predominant pattern of national teacher training for well over a century. At all times the need was felt that the content of subjects, rather than the study of education as such, should dominate the college courses. A new form of apprenticeship was also adopted whereby selected pupils at the end of their own schooling would be apprenticed as monitors to the local master, pass a number of examinations largely based on subject content and qualify as teachers.

One of these monitors was Patrick Keenan who graduated to become in turn, assistant teacher, headmaster of the Central Model School, a district inspector, an assistant professor in the Training College, a chief of inspection and at the age of 45, Resident Commissioner of National Education, a post which he held for 23 years.

Keenan had a gift and flair for the practice and organisation of teaching. In 1856, as Head Inspector, he gave a course on "The Science and Practice of School Management" to "organising teachers".

One of these teachers was P.W. Joyce, later headmaster of the Central Model School. Joyce was very impressed by Keenan's lectures and went on to write A Handbook of School Management and Methods of Teaching in 1863. In his preface Joyce acknowledged "I have incorporated the most important of them (Keenan's lectures) and they form a very considerable portion of the books".[10] This book formed the central text for Irish teachers in their study of Education and teaching for over half a century. An introductory statement indicated the author's approach, "While carefully avoiding all mere theory, I have endeavoured to render the instruction contained in it plain, useful and practical".[12] The suspicion of "mere theory" was to have a long life in Irish education circles. The book was a very useful, clearly written compendium of practical guidelines, model lessons and hints relating to methodology and organisation of the school. It had a strong didactic tone expressive of a "This is the way" approach.

The Powis Commission of 1870 was highly critical of the Central Training Institution and the courses pursued in it. Among various criticisms the investigators stated:

> To spend twenty weeks in incessant occupations, wandering from one subject to another, is hardly the most promising method of changing an inefficient teacher into a competent one. 13

It criticised the system of teaching practice and student assessment. It was urged that fewer subjects be taken and the course extended to, at least, one year's duration. The need for a good library and encouragement in its use were stressed. It was pointedly remarked:

> Less meagre fare for the mind than the "Books of the Board" should be put before the students. This perpetual feeding on husks stunts and dwarfs the minds of these people. 14

The course was extended to one year and from 1884 to two years for non-certificated teachers. The concept of the closed, boarding institution with students subject to set regimens of timetable and close supervision from early morning until late at night was intensified within the new denominational training colleges. Education as a subject had very low status. A written paper on "Methods of Teaching and School Organisation" was introduced for all students in 1884. but a pass in it was not essential for graduation. Five questions were to be answered in an hour and a half and it is clear from the structure of the questions that definite, clear-cut, factual answers were being sought. That the theoretical and practical aspects of the subject Education were seriously undervalued vis-a-vis the other subjects in the Colleges is clearly evidenced by contemporary comment of inspectors and others.[15] The introduction of payment by results in 1872,with the strong support of Patrick Keenan, implied a functional definition of teaching as a job with clearly defined targets which encouraged a great deal of mechanical and rote learning and positively discouraged professional flair and personal initiative.[16] Imagination in teachers was not considered a prized talent by officials in charge of education in the nineteenth century.

Developments in Education, 1897-1922

A less closeted approach to the study of Education emerged from the mid-nineties. Payment by results fell out of favour and the New Education Movement was having international influence.[17] Ireland again opened windows on to international thought on Education and there was a resurgence of interest, as in the early part of the nineteenth century, in Education as a subject of study. This was clearly reflected in the new programmes for the training colleges introduced in 1897. There was a change of title to "Theory of Method" and as part of a special course for high level students a subject called the "Science of Education" was introduced. The programmes and examination papers clearly reflected a concern to lift the pattern from basic factual questions on methods and regulations to "The general principles of teaching and the intelligent application of these principles to the teaching of the elementary subjects". The type and standard of questions now being asked were indeed impressive.[18] Education was now allocated about 20 per cent of overall marks, a large improvement.

However, the Revised Programme for National Schools introduced in 1900 placed new pressures on the colleges and the continuous tendency to overload the courses re-exerted itself. Inspectors complained that over fifty hours a week had to be devoted to lectures and associated study and remarked on "the want of time for thought or for assimilation of what has been learned".[19] The fact that students could qualify from the colleges without passing in the Theory of Method examination reveals the continuing suspicion of "mere theory". There were usually only one or two staff members specialising in Education who worked extremely hard with lecture schedules of about 32 hours per week.[20] From 1 April 1900 training in a recognised training college became essential for appointment as a principal teacher in a national school.

The hopes of Bryce and Wyse that Chairs of Education would be established in Irish universities had not materialised in the nineteenth century. Secondary education was largely a private concern with no direct state involvement. The Intermediate Education Act of 1878 introduced an indirect involvement through its payment by results examination system and totally ignored the teacher or teacher training. The cult of the amateur held full sway for secondary teaching; a knowledge of subject content being deemed quite sufficient for secondary school teachers. Orders such as the Jesuits and the Christian Brothers had a more organised form of teacher induction. About the same year, 1897, as the changes were introduced to give Education a more serious position in the training colleges, the first steps were taken to provide a qualification in Education for secondary teachers in Ireland. Trinity College decided to hold examinations in the History and Theory of Education and in the Practice of Education for graduates. No formal courses were provided and the first examinations were held in January 1898.[21] Successful candidates in both examinations were awarded a Diploma in Education. This was also the title of the award for two similar examinations established in 1898 by the Royal University. At first confined to Arts graduates they were later extended to Science graduates. As was the case with all its academic awards the Royal University provided no courses for students. The standards of the examination papers were high and the papers were in line with the conception of Education as a subject in England and Europe at the time.[22] Very few students took the examinations; there were about three or four successful students in any year. Also in September 1896 the Ursuline Convent in Waterford established a training course for women secondary teachers which was recognised by the Cambridge Syndicate.[23] The Dominican nuns and Alexandra College in Dublin also set up training courses for women.

The questions of teacher training and the setting up of a Chair of Pedagogy were raised in the deliberations of the Commission of Inquiry into Intermediate Education (Palles) in 1898-99 and in evidence to the Commission on University Education (Robertson) 1901-03, but neither Commission regarded the matter as coming within its terms of reference.[24] The new Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (1900) established courses from 1901 for secondary teachers of Science and from 1905 required candidates for the Irish Secondary Teachers' Science Certificate to pass an examination in the Principles, Methods and History of Education with special reference to Science teaching.[25] Among the terms of reference to the Dale and Stephens Committee on Intermediate Education established in 1904 was the issue of "training for secondary teachers". While urging flexibility in the requirements for training, Dale and Stephens favoured a system of training and commended the German pattern whereby the course would be post-graduate, should include "a systematic course of study in the Mental and Moral Sciences bearing on Education, and in the Theory and History of Education". These were to be complemented by teaching practice and classroom observation and, before accreditation as a teacher, there should be a probationary period in a recognised school.[26] These proposals were later to form the core of the registration requirements introduced in 1918. Dale and Stephens went further to recommend encouragement "to teachers to interest themselves whilst teaching in original work connected either with some branch of scholarship or with studies of value for the science and art of teaching". The Report stated that funds should be available to publish theses by secondary teachers, holding that the stimulus to teachers would be of great value and would enhance the dignity of the teacher and of his professsion.[27]

Thus we can note that the question of providing a structured course in Education for secondary teachers was a live one around the turn of the century. Some important initiatives followed and the first Chair of Education in Ireland was established by Trinity College in May 1905, following the publication of the Dale and Stephens Report. Professor Culverwell was the first occupant of the Chair. The establishment of the National University of Ireland in 1908 resolved the long-disputed issue of providing university education acceptable to Catholics. Two of the constituent colleges, University College Dublin and University College Cork established Chairs of Education straight away, to be followed by University College Galway in 1915. Queen's University Belfast set up its Chair in 1914.

At long last it seemed as if Education was being accepted as a serious subject whose status was endorsed by the establishment of Chairs of Education in all Irish universities. This seemed to be particularly the case in U.C.D., where Rev.Professor Corcoran succeeded in having Education at Diploma and Higher Diploma levels, as an undergraduate subject for the B.A. and the B.Sc., and also for M.A. and Ph.D. levels.[28] An Education Society was established in the university and publication of educational studies was initiated. Another important initiative which followed the establishment of the National University was that a two-year course was made obligatory for all training college students and provision was made for the best students to add a third year of university-based studies leading to a university diploma or higher certificate in Education. The INTO had urged closer links between the colleges and the university since 1902.[29] From that time until the establishment of the B.Ed. degrees in 1974 the INTO remained steadfast in its belief in the importance of the university dimension for national teachers. The third-year course for matriculated students attending university lectures in Education was inaugurated in 1912 and continued under various regulations until about 1950.

The Higher Diploma in Education was the training course introduced for graduates and it was geared towards secondary teaching as a career. The consecutive pattern of the one year post-graduate course has survived as the basic structure for secondary teachers of general subjects to the mid-eighties. A key problem in its early years was the lack of demand for the course as secondary teachers were not required to have a pre-service qualification in teaching. A revealing, if somewhat shocking statement of the appalling condition of secondary teachers was made by Professor Culverwell at a public meeting in 1910. He stated that he had never advised one of his students, who had any other prospects, to go in for the position of secondary teaching in Ireland.[30] The Association of Secondary Teachers, Ireland (ASTI) was set up in 1909 and pressed strongly for the raising of the status of secondary teaching. Due largely to its pressure a Registration Council was established whose regulations came into effect from 31 July 1918. To qualify for registration candidates needed to have a university degree, a diploma in Education and probationary experience in approved schools. This was a landmark development, but it was still the case that teachers could be employed in secondary schools who did not satisfy the registration requirements. M.A. studies in Education were by now well established and Professors of Education had published some important works. Thus, the period from 1898 to 1918 was a period which witnessed significant breakthroughs on several fronts for Education as a serious subject of study. The foundations seemed to have been laid for further development as Ireland emerged into independence.

"Education" in Independent Ireland, 1922-1962

Following political independence in 1922 renewed efforts were made to establish more integrated links between the universities and the training colleges. A scheme of 1923 for a university degree course for national teachers was not proceeded with because of opposition from the new Department of Education, formally established in 1924. Both the National University and Trinity College extended some credits to academic subjects in the training colleges. Other than these arrangements no liaison was established between the colleges and the universities and the Education departments grew apart from one another.

The primary educational aim of the new State was the preservation and revival of the Irish language as a living language. A heavy onus was placed on the training colleges and schools to promote this aim. Irish was to be the medium of instruction and of social life within the colleges. In 1931 recruitment to the colleges became based on the levels of performance in the Leaving Certificate examination and in specifically designed oral examinations, and a high level of competition existed for entry. New courses were introduced in 1932-33 which were to remain in operation for 30 years. Examination papers were taken in "Principles of Education" as well as in "Teaching Methods". For the first time ever success in the written papers in Education became essential for a pass in the overall examination. The marks allocated to Education in the second year course amounted to about 23 per cent of overall marks.

The colleges continued to be denominational, single-sexed and highly routinised and closed off as boarding institutions. The students' day was very crowded; as late as 1959 the average attendance at lectures was 30 hours per week, apart from other organised activities.[31] Lectures were given through the medium of Irish but no books on educational studies were available in the Irish language. Thus, the tendency to rely on lecturers' notes was intensified. Lecturers were neither expected nor facilitated to engage in educational research other than lecture preparation. A heavy reliance was placed on practical experience, an excellent thing in itself, but the value of which is augmented by probing at new frontiers. The Colleges had very little academic autonomy with entry standards and numbers decided by the Department of Education which also prescribed the courses. Departmental inspectors set and corrected the examination papers as well as inspected lecturers' work. The inspectors themselves were inducted through the apprenticeship system. They were regarded as "outdoor staff" and their influence on educational policy within the Department of Education was limited. There was very little time for personal reflection or wide reading by the lecturers or the students in the colleges. The libraries were inadequate and little used. This probably was a factor in the predominantly anti-intellectual sub-culture which prevailed in the colleges and which had carryover effects on their graduates.

To delineate these general characteristics is not to denigrate the tremendous input of work by committed and often gifted staff members or the resilience of talented and motivated students to benefit from and go beyond their college experiences. Rather it is to remind us of the context in which they had to work and the lack of scope and of vision with regard to educational studies for a well-educated and highly intelligent student clientele.

It would be refreshing if we could shift our gaze and be impressed by the state of educational studies within the universities in the first forty years of independence. Regrettably, this is not so and the promising early beginnings were not improved on or even satisfactorily sustained. The staffs of Education Departments remained pitiably small up to the nineteen sixties. Indeed, the very serious situation developed whereby different universities left the Chair of Education vacant for considerable periods of time. For instance, the Chair was vacant in Trinity College from 1916 to 1922, in U.C.D., for 16 years - from 1950 to 1966, in Maynooth College at various times and in U.C.C. from 1962 to 1969. The predominant concern of the small staffs became the teaching of the one-year Higher Diploma Course to graduates. This affected the status of Education among other university staff. This course was conducted under very difficult circumstances whereby lectures had to be given in the late afternoon or evening, up to the nineteen seventies. Efforts were made to erode its status further during these decades by trying to make the Higher Diploma a vacation course taken by serving full-time teachers and by attempts to admit categories of teachers to registration without the Higher Diploma in Education.[32] Such efforts were resisted by the ASTI. While the Higher Diploma was a necessary requirement for registration the fact that for decades almost 50 per cent of secondary teachers were unregistered seriously weakened the status of the *pre-service studies in Education. U.C.D. removed* Education as an undergraduate subject for the B.A. and the B.Sc., in 1945. A significant decline also set in in the number of students successfully concluding masters degree studies in Education. Only about 80 Masters theses on educational topics were produced in the universities of the Republic of Ireland in the 20 years from 1946 to 1965, and these were not all directed in Education Departments.[33] While many other European countries re-organised their educational systems in the post-war years this did not happen in Ireland and neither did the subject Education benefit from any re-structuring.

Thus, while established subjects were being strengthened and some other subjects were being introduced and fostered within the university, Education was holding a very tenuous position within the academic community. Education had in fact declined from the position it occupied circa 1920. It had reached a very weak position by the early nineteen sixties just at the time that there was to be a great renewal and development of the Irish education system generally, including a massive expansion in post-primary school enrollment.[34] University Education Departments were in a weak position to contribute to or indeed cope with the situation. The dangerously weak position in which they found themselves is illustrated by the following table.

Number of students and staff in University
Education Departments, 1965/1966

		Number of Staff			
				Junior Lecturer/Assistant	
College	No. of Students	Professor	Lecturer	Full Time	Part Time
U.C.D.	346	-	2	2	6
U.C.C.	164	1 (vacant)	1 (vacant)	4	6
U.C.G.	152	1	1 (vacant)	2	11
Trinity	60	1 (vacant) 2 Visiting part-time	1	2	8

Source: Report of Commission on Higher Education,Vol.1,p.220

These figures meant that a full time staff of 14 had to cater for 722 students and only 4 of this staff were above junior lecturer status. Well might the Commission on Higher Education (1967) comment:

> There are indications that academic opinion does not regard university departments of education on the same footing as other university departments. 35

The situation had reached the stage when the Minister for Education could remark cavalierly in the Dáil in 1967 "Maybe I will do away with the Higher Diploma in Education".[36]

During the four decades following independence, 1922-62, publications dealing with Irish education were very limited. Of the nineteen books one has counted they all dealt with historical themes and twelve of them were institutional histories or dealt with specific categories of schools. There were no books which dealt with wider aspects of education. The INTO's booklets of 1941 and 1947 as well as Rev Dr. Ó Catháin's booklet on Secondary Education in 1958 stood out as lonely beacons throwing light on general policy. Articles on Education in periodicals and journals were few in number and very uneven in quality. Apart from teacher union magazines there was no educational journal as such and no educational correspondent was appointed to any newspaper. Following the reports on inspection and on technical education in 1927 no committee of enquiry was established for education until the Council of Education was set up in 1950. One wonders if the duration taken to produce the Council's Reports on the primary and secondary curricula and the quality of these Reports were not injuriously affected by the lack of a live tradition and range of research skills for such studies. The Department of Education sponsored no educational research project. Its annual reports became dull and routinised, petering out altogether in the mid-sixties.

One is of the opinion that debate on education and the quality of Irish intellectual and cultural life generally suffered deeply from the State and institutional neglect of educational studies over these four decades. Eventually it was again the re-establishment of links with educational thought and developments abroad, as well as with the work of economists, which drew public attention to the rather dismal condition of Irish education studies in Ireland after forty years of independence.

The Revitalisation of "Education", 1962-1984.

Several major reports were published on Irish education in the sixties which had implications for educational studies and teacher training. One of these was the Investment in Education Report, published in 1965. From a close scrutiny of the supply and demand pattern the Report demonstrated that an increased output of teachers would be required at all levels and urged a redeployment of teaching resources to secure a more satisfactory and economic return from the teaching force. The Report of the Commission on Higher Education (1967) had more specific proposals to make regarding education and teacher training. It urged the re-structuring of the teacher training colleges so that their education staffs would become the education departments of a new type of third-level institution - somewhat on the lines of a polytechnic, termed New Colleges. The course for primary teachers would be lengthened from two to three years and lead to the award of a degree from the New Colleges. The courses for teachers in vocational and technical schools should also be lengthened and become more formalised. However, the Report took most direct issue with prevailing trends when it objected to the neglect of Educational Studies by the universities. It stated unequivocably:

> In our opinion, the study of education should not be regarded as the "poor relation" of university studies. It should be given equal importance with other studies. It would be wrong to conceive of the function of university departments of education simply as departments for the training of teachers in pedagogics. Education, with all its philosophical, historical, economic and sociological implications, forms a field of study that requires to be pursued and investigated no less than other university subjects; ... 37

The Report also deprecated the lack of educational research remarking:

> Paucity of research into educational problems in this country has been disclosed by the evidence. So far as we can ascertain, educational research is neither well organised nor well supported. 38

Such statements were an authoritative indictment of the state of affairs which had come to exist. The Report urged "that the university departments of education should all be staffed and maintained at a level and to an extent appropriate to a major university department" [39]

While full-scale remedial measures were slow to emerge some changes were already taking place which gradually,and on accumulation, would change significantly the overall situation for Education. The training colleges benefited from new extensions and larger intakes of students. The colleges became more regularly known as Colleges of Education and became more "open" as institutions, with more personal responsibility devolving on students in the management of their scholastic and leisure time. The single sex college gradually gave way to mixed colleges with female students forming the majority of the student body. The student body became more diversified by a greater infusion of university graduates on a one year training course and the participation of what were known as "mature" students within the student body. From 1962 the colleges assumed greater academic responsibility for their courses and examinations and were less under the control of the state Department of Education. An important change occurred in 1963 when, following discussions between College of Education and Department of Education personnel, new courses were devised which reduced the range of subjects to be studied and established a restructured course in Education. As well as re-vamped courses in Methods and Principles of Education,this now, included Psychology and elective courses such as History of Education, Sociology of Education and Comparative Education. The change was directed at giving a more theoretical underpinning to the students' studies. The staffs in the Education Departments were greatly expanded allowing much more scope for specialisation.

A key figure in guiding the new developments was Rev. Dr. D.F.Cregan. He also took the important initiatives of establishing the Special Education Unit in St. Patrick's College, in 1961, and the Educational Research Centre in 1966. To help widen the academic and cultural horizons of the college of education Dr. Cregan initiated series of public lectures on education by national and international scholars and he also initiated the publication of two scholarly journals. Both Dr. Cregan and the first Director of the Educational Research Centre, Dr. Kellaghan, urged the universities to give greater support to Education and to educational research.[40] The establishment of the Educational Research Centre was symbolic of a new concern that the health and vitality of a modern education system were closely connected with empirical research on the system. Since its establishment the Centre has carried out a wide range of research, and, while acting as an independent agency, the Centre has been a yeasting influence among college staffs and some teachers.

Meanwhile the understaffed Education Departments of the Universities were being stretched to breaking point to cope with the greatly expanded numbers taking the Higher Diploma in Education. The student numbers more than quadrupled within the decade 1959-1969, which was an extraordinary increase over such a short period.[41] It is a tribute to the limited staffs that they were able to cope at all. The predicament of Education in the Universities reached its nadir in the mid-sixties in terms of insufficient staff, resources and funding.

Heed was taken, however, of the calls of the Commission on Higher Education that the university departments should be expanded as a matter of urgency and that a more active research role be developed. Steps were taken to re-establish or re-fill the Chairs of Education. Fr. Ó Catháin became Professor in U.C.D., and Professors Rice, O Suilleabháin, Ó h-Éideáin and McClelland were appointed as new Professors in Trinity College, Maynooth, U.C.G., and U.C.C., respectively. Recruitment of more full-time staff with various specialisms took place. Premises and facilities were also improved, particularly in the areas of audio-visual equipment, resource rooms, micro-teaching studios, workshop spaces and library resources.

The courses for the Higher Diploma have been re-structured with less reliance on mass lectures and more scope for seminar, tutorial and workshop groups. More emphasis has been given to Psychology and Sociology, with educational technology, micro-teaching and elective specialisms also becoming more prominent. Efforts have been made to give a more practical thrust to the courses and they have also assumed a more strictly full-time complexion. Reduced student numbers in recent years have allowed for more individual attention to their needs.

While Education does not exist as an undergraduate subject in any of the universities, except U.C.G., all Education departments have re-vitalised their post-graduate work since 1970. M.Ed. courses now exist in all the Departments while M.A. degrees in Education exist in the National University colleges and Ph.D's in all the Universities. Trinity College provides an M.Litt. degree which may be taken in Education. The greater availability of post-graduate degrees in Education, with flexible formats to match student requirements, has allowed scope for much-needed specialisation of an advanced character to meet the needs for expertise and skill within the education system to-day.

There has also been a great increase in diplomas of a specialist character. These include diplomas in Career Guidance, in Special Education, in the Education of the Deaf, in Remedial Education, in Computers for Education, in Catechetics, in Compensatory and Remedial Education. Departmental policy in recent years has placed some of these courses in jeopardy.

A significant new departure in teacher education was the setting up of Thomond College in Limerick in 1970. This was on different lines from the traditional colleges of education and from the university education departments. It was to concern itself with the education and training of specialist second-level teachers. The first group of such teachers was the Physical Education teachers who underwent a four-year degree course with Education taken as a concurrent subject. The degree was awarded under the auspices of the National Council for Educational Awards (NCEA). Since then Metalwork, Woodwork and Rural Science trainee teachers have embarked on similarly structured degree courses. A four-year degree course for Art teachers based in the National College of Art and Design is also expected to be validated shortly by the N.C.E.A. A university-linked B.Ed. degree course exists for Home Economics teachers.

Meanwhile primary teachers had continued to urge that their education and training should lead to a university degree course. The Report on Teacher Training by the Higher Educational Authority in 1970, favoured a degree course linked to the new National Council for Educational Awards. The INTO for seven decades had urged a university-linked award and

Mr. Seán Brosnahan, the General Secretary, was particularly to the fore in the early seventies seeking a university degree for national teachers. Eventually the Government decided to request the universities to agree to the award of degrees to primary teachers and a notable landmark in teacher training was the introduction of the B.Ed. degrees in 1974. The three largest colleges of education became "recognised" colleges of the National University while the Church of Ireland College and some smaller colleges became associated with Trinity College for their B.Ed. degrees. Under the B.Ed. structure Education became the central subject within the Colleges of Education and the increased course duration as well as greatly improved library facilities allowed the expanded staffs to help students towards a deeper grasp of the subject. In 1983 the National University approved a plan for a composite M.Ed.Degree between one of its constituent colleges and two of the new Recognised Colleges but the Minister for Education did not approve of the Recognised Colleges participating. Plans have been formulated in recent times to set up in-service B.Ed. degrees.

These various developments have led the way towards an all-graduate teaching profession in Ireland. The teaching force has doubled in the last twenty years and teachers participate in a common salary scale.[42] The teacher unions have developed co-operative relationships between them leading to the Council of Education Unions in 1981. A Ministerial Committee in 1974 recommended the establishment of a Teaching Council with wide-ranging functions in relation to teacher education and the study of Education and educational research but the recommendation has not been implemented.[43] The early seventies was also a period when the importance of in-service education for teachers was more emphasised. Teacher centres were established. Various courses, largely of a short-term and non-certificated variety, were made available. No contractual entitlement to release from full-time teaching to participate in in-service training exists for Irish teachers and the needs of the teaching profession in relation to in-service provision have not been met by Government policy and support.[44] The Programme for Action, 1984-87, has ruled out action on the recommendations of a Ministerial Committee on in-service education, which reported in 1983.[45]

Contemporary with the many developments which occurred in teacher education the last twenty years have seen significant developments in educational research. The expansion of post-graduate theses on education is emphasised when we note that from 1966 to 1982 over 550 theses have been produced in the Education Departments of the Republic's Universities.[46] Benjamin Alvarez in a bibliography confined to empirical research from 1960 to 1980, excluding post-graduate theses, listed 148 titles.[47] Vincent Greaney and Brendan Molloy have listed 155 studies on Reading which have been produced within the period 1960 to 1982.[48] This is remarkable evidence of research vitality, particularly when the miniscule direct input from Government finance is borne in mind.

There has also been a great vitality in the number of bodies and associations which have been involved in promoting educational debate, conferences and workshops. Publications of various kinds by such agencies have provided a good range of outlets for articles and research findings in Education. A list of some of of the associations and publications is set out in the appendix.

The last 20 years then, have been a watershed period for the subject Education and the profession of teaching. The improved staffing and facilities in the Education Departments of Colleges of Education and Universities is very striking. The more central place allocated to "Education" in pre-service courses is highly significant. The increased duration and altered structure of courses is important in allowing students to get a more thorough understanding of Education and a greater opportunity to formulate a professional outlook. Publications in the forms of books, articles and reports on the system are evidence of an extraordinary flowering of educational debate and research. Professional debate and interchange of ideas is further fostered by the impressive calender of conferences, seminars and professional workshops which are now a feature of the educational year. Teacher centres provide a resource which could only be dreamed of by generations of teachers, going back as far as the Armagh Teachers' Association with its plans for teachers' study centres in the 1830s.

Concluding Comments

One cannot pursue here some vitally important questions such as the nature of educational studies today, the theory-practice problem, the use of educational research. However, in conclusion, one would like to offer some general comments. While attitudes have changed within the Irish academic world toward Education the subject, it still has a long way to go before it is fully endorsed as a field of study which is underpinned by a serious theoretical structure, which is studied and expanded according to rigorous canons of scholarship and experiment and which is taught in a manner and a style which sets a headline for other disciplines or areas of knowledge.

A criterion of professionalism in education is the command over, and skill in the application of a body of specialized and systematized knowledge. The manner of the organization of, and initiation into the knowledge and skills evolves in the light of experience, insight and further research. The content and teaching of Education need to be of a quality to provide a secure basis from which professional development may grow and be fostered giving assurance, competence and sense of direction to practitioners. Ironically, if it is to do that it needs to be realised more generally that there is more to Education than teacher training. If Education as a field of study and teacher education as a professional programme are allowed to deteriorate and become stale and moribund then the deleterious effects range much further afield than the on-going professional competence of teachers. Some elements of the study of Education can and should lead directly towards professional competence in the classroom. Other aspects do not pretend to and cannot deliver on precise guidelines and skills for specific situations. What the overall study of Education in a professional programme should do is to equip the educator with classroom skills, deepen his understanding, widen his area of knowledge reference, and motivate him to act in an intelligent, artistic and developing manner. There is a heavy onus on those teaching educational studies to ensure that their content and mode of handling courses are such that students genuinely benefit and are inspired by them.

The teaching of Education is enriched, deepened and kept vitalised by educational research. As well as this, educational research enriches the education system in a variety of ways. It can be of direct benefit to teachers in the classroom. It can widen the horizons and deepen the understanding of many involved in education - teacher educators, policy makers and administrators. It can be personally developmental for those involved in it. It contributes to the gradual accumulation of knowledge and truth in general, and to the development of Education, in particular. Problems exist in the mode of communicating the research to different audiences with varying backgrounds and interests. The research should always be subject to scrutiny but one needs to guard against a prevalent tendency to dismiss educational research by a brusque, commonsense, no-nonsense attitude which is unworthy of professionals.

There are over 40,000 people professionally involved in a direct way with the education system. For many the exposure to educational studies has been limited, its quality has been thin and the circumstances in which it occurred very restricted. The lack of serious provision for in-service studies of a satisfactory character is a further significant loss for people operating at all levels within the education system. Yet we expect educators to be curriculum innovators, to be skilled in many aspects of their job at a time of fundamental, social and cultural change and to retain a fresh enthusiasm for a career span of up to forty-five years, fuelled by such limited resources. Is it a cause of surprise that for many the shallow well of fructifying ideas and inspiration has already run dry long before they draw their pension? There is a great pool of talent among the corps of Irish educators but there is also, what might be termed a great silence from many of them. The sad fact is that few teachers write on Education or, let it be admitted, read in Education. Is it a case that many educators lack confidence and do not feel at home in writing on Education? Do they fail to realise that communicating their experiences and reflections can enrich the system as well as be professionally developmental for themselves?. Are such attitudes connected with the quality of their experience of educational studies? Knowledge gives freedom, power and confidence. The Irish nation can only benefit when its educators have access to the knowledge, attitudes and skills which help to lead to the realisation of their full potential as professionals.

There is a community of interest, in the best sense, for the many agencies involved in education to ensure that the study of Education and the pursuit of educational research are promoted and developed. To remind us of Edgeworth's phrase "boundless space for improvement remains". Co-operation between individuals, interest groups and institutions is vital in meeting the challenges ahead. From its foundation in 1976 one of the key aims of the Educational Studies Association has been the promotion of co-operation between educational researchers and educational interests throughout Ireland. One hopes that in the years ahead it may continue to do so and help to retain, and build on what has been achieved in the development of educational studies in Ireland for the long-term benefit of its new generations.

APPENDIX

Some Educational Associations and Publications

Post-Primary School Subject Associations	- Journals
Teachers' Study Group	- Occasional publications
Educational Research Centre	- *Irish Journal of Education* and many publications.
Curriculum Development Association	- *Compass*
Department of Education	- *Oideas*
Reading Association of Ireland	- *Proceedings* and other publications
Educational Studies Association	- *Proceedings*, *Irish Educational Studies*, *Register of Theses*
Teacher Unions	- Journals and Special Reports
School of Education, T.C.D.	- *Studies in Education* and occasional publications.
Linguistics Institute	- *Teangeolas*
H.E.A.) N.C.E.A.) E.S.R.I.)	- Special Reports on Education
Remedial Teachers' Association	- *Learn*
Association of Teachers in Special Education	
Computer in Education Society	
Technological Education Society	
Association of Principals and Vice-Principals in Community and Comprehensive Schools	- *Guth agus Gairm*

Education Ireland

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THE IRISH CHARTER SCHOOLS: THE GRAND DESIGN IN PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE

Kenneth Milne

The history of educational ideas and institutions in the eighteenth century while not throwing as much light on today's situation as nineteenth century history does, for all that provides a great deal of information on the society of its day. A study of the charter schools adds to our knowledge of some of the elements of eighteenth century social and economic life: there is much data on apprenticeship, food prices, et cetera. On a larger scale, such a study also contributes to a debate that has been kindling for some time about the penal laws, a debate summarised by S.J. Connolly in a review article in the most recent issue of Irish Economic and Social History where he asks for more thought to be given to the possibility that the penal code was what it was said to be: an attempt to eliminate Catholicism and make Ireland Protestant, and that this was the legislators' prime motive, rather than that of making the Catholic population a subject class.[1]

I think that even the brief introduction to the charter schools that follows will give substance to Dr. Connolly's suggestion that "The launching in 1733 of the charter schools makes clear that even at this stage the idea of converting the Catholic population to Protestantism was not dead."[2]

Historians of education are not the only ones to neglect the eighteenth century, its early decades in particular. Perhaps this neglect owes something to the headline set by Lecky - still a force to be reckoned with -

of whose five volume history of the century four are concerned with George III's reign. Yet the early eighteenth century was important. Seminal thinking was taking place - in political theory, in religion and in economics. A vast pamphlet literature on these facets of society survives, and the leaders were the Protestant intelligentsia such as Prior, Dobbs, Madden, and of course Swift. Their zeal for the moral and material welfare of Ireland found expression in such noteworthy developments as the Dublin (soon to be Royal Dublin) Society and the Linen Board. Many of them - Swift included - were members of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for Promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland. The Royal Dublin Society and the Linen Board have always received a more favourable press than the Incorporated Society has done, understandably, given the disrepute into which the Society's schools fell. Lecky described them as having "offered a people thirsting for knowledge a cup which they believed to be poison".[3] A modern historian, Professor R.B. McDowell, has written that they were "ill-managed by committees of languid, educationally inexpert amateurs",[4] and Charles Dickens' most gruesome passages on Dotheboys Hall have nothing on the description of the Incorporated Society's schools by one public enquiry after another.

The opprobrium attaching to the charter schools (as they came to be called in recognition of their royal mandate) owed much not only to the cruelty and neglect with which many of them were conducted, but also to the fact that their sponsors fervently believed that if the Irish poor were to become industrious and civilised they must, perforce, be anglicised and Protestant. The conversion of the Irish was an essential step to the redemption of Ireland in all senses of the word. This is not to say that the scandalous maladministration of the schools was a calculated part of the process. Indeed the

Society struggled hard to remove from its schools any grounds for the criticism that might so easily have been levelled at them that they were centres for disease and degradation, and scarcely constituted a convincing argument for Protestantism. The Society's, or rather Archbishop Boulter's 'grand design' was therefore very different in practice to what its founders had envisaged in theory. Well versed in the scriptures though the founders of the Society were, they made scant allowance for human nature in its less attractive aspects.

Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh from 1724 to 1742, is generally regarded as having been the major influence in the setting up of the Incorporated Society. There can be no doubt that it was his great prestige and influence that gave to the 'grand design', as it was sometimes extravagantly termed, its initial impetus. Boulter, like every Church of Ireland Archbishop of Armagh in the eighteenth century (and like many in other centuries before and after the Reformation) was English. Bishop of Bristol, dean of Christ Church, Oxford, a former tutor at the Hanoverian court, he epitomised that blend of political and religious leadership so characteristic of church and state in eighteenth century Ireland. He could draw little comfort from the predicament of the Established Church of Ireland that the Report on the State of Popery presented to the Irish House of Lords revealed in 1731, telling as it did of "the disproportion between mass-houses and churches, Romish ecclesiastics and Protestant ministers and popish and Protestant schools."[5]

Something must be done. The answer was thought to be an elaborate network of charity schools, centrally directed, government supported, adequately financed. There were already many such schools, the fruits of local and individual initiative such as that of Henry Maule, Bishop of Cloyne. There was, indeed, since 1716 a society for promoting such schools,[6] and in 1730 Maule drew up *An humble proposal for obtaining His Majesty's royal charter to incorproate a Society for promoting Christian Knoweldge among the poor natives of the kingdom of Ireland*. English Protestant schools were to be the agents used.[7]

Boulter mobilised support among the leaders of the ascendancy, and in the early months of 1731 (or late in 1730, Old Style) the Lord Lieutenant forwarded the petition to George II. The good offices of Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, of Gibson, Bishop of London, and of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) were involved, and in February 1733/4 the charter was granted and solemnly opened in the Council Chamber of Dublin Castle in the presence of an influential gathering that included the Lord Lieutenant.[8] Under the charter, commissioners were appointed, headed by the viceroy, to execute the purposes of the charter and so 'The Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland' came into being.

The most immediate duty imposed on the commissioners was that of electing the Society's officers, as named in the charter, and this they proceeded to do at once. Dorset, the Lord Lieutenant, was made president, Archbishop Boulter vice-president and treasurer, and John Hansard was to be the Society's secretary. The treasurer quickly assumed his responsibilities, and a subscription being then proposed, it was "cheerfully made by most of those present".[9] The Incorporated Society was in business.

Five members were appointed to prepare a scheme for the future, and rules were drawn up, some general, some 'particular', setting out what might be termed the ground plan for the development of the system and specifying the day to day regulations by which the schools were to be conducted. The first of the general rules stipulated that there should initially be a school in each of the four provinces of Ireland, and that these would serve as models for private foundations. "Some very popish and extended parish", was envisaged, and further rules provided for the setting up of a local committee comprising the Society's members in the neighbourhood to supervise the school and keep the Society informed of its progress. The local committee was a sound idea, but experience was to show that it needed supervision itself, and from an early stage in the Society's life it came to be seen as a vital (if frequently weak) link in communication and control.[10]

The decision to erect schools province by province was adhered to. First came Castledermot in 1734, very largely provided by the earl of Kildare. It was followed within twelve months by Ballinahinch (Ulster), Minola (Connacht) and Shannon Grove (Munster). By 1760 there were nine schools in Ulster, thirteen in Munster, sixteen in Leinster and six in Connacht. In a category of its own was the nursery in York Street, Dublin, which existed "for the immediate reception of such of the children as are admitted here or sent from schools in the country to be apprenticed, or transplanted to parts remote from their popish relations".[11] Three provincial nurseries, Minola (Connacht), Shannon Grove (Munster) and Monasterevan (Leinster) were founded in the 1760s, parliament having responded favourably to the Society's petition that it was difficult to fill the schools (except in times of scarcity), and that the rules precluded the admission of children under six years of age. The nurseries, it was hoped, would ensure a constant supply of children.[12]

School patrons followed, with some variations, a universal pattern by which they conveyed a few acres (generally two) to the Society for the use of the school and leased a further number (usually twenty) at a low rent and on a middle-to-long term lease. Sometimes they provided the school-house, sometimes they contributed to it. While in no sense lavishly built, it must be remembered that these were boarding schools, not just simple school-rooms, and that there had to be accommodation not only for the pupils (forty on average) but also for the master and/or mistress and his or her family. The Society published a basic design that made the necessary provision for teachers and pupils.[13] The costs involved in setting up a school were not large. It cost William Bury £80 to build the school at Shannon Grove,[14] though by 1750 the Society was prepared to allow up to £450 for the cost of erecting school and outbuildings.[15] The early cash books of the Society show that twenty children, boys and girls, could be fully fitted out for as many pounds.[16] Ideally, of course, the schools were intended to be self-sufficient, even where clothing was concerned. Hence the satisfaction with which it was reported that the girls at Minola school were engaged in spinning, knitting and preparing materials for their own and the boys' clothing.[17]

Self-sufficiency sums up the economic principle on which the schools were based, however far short they may have fallen in practice. An early report on the first school to be founded, Castledermot, paints a picture of a charter school as the founders wanted it to be:

> It (Castledermot) consists of 10 boys and 10 girls, who are clothed, dieted and lodged. The boys are daily employed in cultivating that little portion of ground that belongs to the school, the girls in spinning and other parts of housewifery, under the tuition of a mistress. They have a web of cloth of their own manufacture, the weaving only excepted. Two hours in the day are spent in reading, and they have made such proficiency, that the English tongue is become familiar to them, who before spoke Irish only, and they have made a progress, according to their age, in the knowledge of our holy religion. 18

Primate Boulter, as befitted a man who held a leading position on the Linen Board, the Dublin Society and the Incorporated Society, gave due emphasis to the practical side of the school that he himself established at Santry, in county Dublin. A house was provided there (at the archbishop's own expense) and the school is described in a report on the Society's proceedings as "a nursery for flax-dressers, who may from time to time be distributed throughout the kingdom to propogate the knowledge of that particular branch."[19] In addition to the school itself there were to be two outbuildings, one a flax store and the other to house drying ovens. The land at Santry was walled in and canals were dug for steeping the flax.[20]

The words "English, Protestant, *working* schools" appear in some versions of the Society's title, and this aspect of their operations held particular attraction for the 'Corresponding Society', a body of English supporters that rendered the Society considerable financial assistance - as well as urging it to fresh endeavours when its Irish support languished. Like the parent body in Dublin the Corresponding Society in London held an annual general meeting, preceeded by a charity sermon, which was in due course printed together with an account of the Society's progress to date. We have the minute book of the Corresponding Society for some decades prior to those covered by the Society's own board and committee records.[21] In its pages we can trace the differences and tensions that from time to time arose between Dublin and London, the latter, which paid a large part of the piper's salary, prodding the former in the direction most calculated to elicit English support, while Dublin politely yet firmly implied - and sometimes more then implied - that the English did not really *understand* the local situation: The Corresponding Society believed that the schools themselves were the best publicity for the Incorporated

Society's work, and took steps to make known in England the activities of the fledgling foundations, amongst other things by placing advertisements in the newspapers. It is to the activities of the schools themselves that rather belatedly one now turns, looking in turn at their internal organisation, their curriculum, and their performance.

As has been noted, the schools were built, partly or entirely, at the expense of a patron, who also endowed them with a little land, and made additional land available at a low rent. Some schools were for boys only, some for girls only, and some were mixed. Boys and girls were expected to spend a substantial part of each day in "proper work and labour", the boys in husbandry and agriculture, with special emphasis on flax growing, and the girls in knitting, spinning, dairying and domestic work. In both cases, they were to be put out to apprenticeship or service with a Protestant master or mistress at the society's expense.

The master or mistress of each school was to be a 'known and approved Protestant', well affected to the crown,[22] and the masters and mistresses were appointed by the Society on the recommendation either of the Committee of Fifteen or the Local Committee.[23] The children were to be taught gratis,[24] and the master or mistress, apart from a salary (£5 per annum in 1730s) depended for their income on a per capita clothing and diet allowance from the Society, and such money as the children's work could generate. Furthermore, they generally rented part of the school land for their own use, though on fairly easy terms. The opportunities, if not, indeed, the incentives for neglect and exploitation inherent in such a system hardly need to be spelled out. That the charter schools were 'working schools' there can be little doubt, but whether or not in the sense so highly approved by the members of the London Corresponding Society is another matter.

The number of pupils in each school was small, seldom more than forty or so, although the nurseries could take a hundred, and seem generally to have been full. The total number of institutions founded by the Society was sixty-one, though somewhat fewer were in existence at any one time. The total number of pupils in the schools, while fluctuating from year to year, was generally in the region of 1,600 - 2,000. It is generally taken for granted that these were children from Roman Catholic families and undoubtedly such was usually the case. But the Society's charter did not restrict enrollment to the children of Catholics, and in its early years, when recruitment often fell short of the accommodation available, the provincial nurseries were set up to increase supply. Legislation of 1749 gave authority to the Society to appoint agents to take up the children of beggars and place them in the schools,[25] and the introduction of the nurseries made it possible to take younger children, presumably of Catholic parents in most cases. Preaching before the Corresponding Society in 1757, the Bishop of Oxford admitted that the schools could not always be filled with 'the offspring of papists', (though they were the vast majority of pupils), the available places being taken up by orphans, vagrants and 'occasional Protestant children'.[26] Some years later, in 1765, the Society decided, 'more effectively to fill the schools and nurseries', by commissioning the mayors and chief magistrates of Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Kilkenny, Derry, and several other cities and towns to take up healthy children between 5 and 10 years of age found begging.[27] A decade later, in 1776, the Society confirmed by resolution that it had been the practice only to admit to its schools and nurseries the children of papists, or children one of whose parents was or had been a papist, or orphans in the care of papists.[28] It is impossible to tell how many Protestant pupils had helped to fill the schools, or whether the schools had, with the years, become more attractive to the Catholic poor, as the records of the 1730s and 1740s do not distinguish the children by religious denomination. It seems hardly likely, despite the best endeavours of the Society to publicise its alleged popularity with poor papist parents. What we do know is that the schools were an irresistible escape from hardship if not starvation in many cases, as is shown by the comment made by the Secretary when presenting accounts to the Board in 1767, that they had experienced a very expensive year, due to the high cost of provisions and the poor offering their children in great numbers.[29]

Having separated the children from the influence of their homes, it was the policy of the Society to eliminate parental influence totally by 'transplanting' children, as it was called, to schools far removed from their home: Bishop Maule enunciated this policy in October 1733. "When a sufficient number of schools are (sic) erected, the Society will transplant the children from one county to another, that they may not be under the influence of their popish parents or priests to pervert them".[30] Hence the Dublin Courant reports in 1745 that Santry school has 20 boys of popish parents transplanted from different counties,[31] and the Freeman's Journal, describing the opening of Ardbraccan school in County Meath in 1747 tells of 40 children "of popish parents transplanted from distant parts".[32] The Bishop of Oxford's sermon of 1757, already referred to, has it that while there were many who lapsed back into popery in the early years, (though he draws comfort from the fact that their temporary enlightenment must have done them some good), "since the method of transplanting hath been followed, extremely few have become apostates..." Transplanting remained Society policy for a century, and the records are full of information showing how large numbers of children were conveyed by the Society's carriers from one region to another, criss-crossing the island. Frequent also were instances of rescue or attempted rescue, such as when Malachy Maneen was jailed in Galway for "rescuing and carrying away" a charter school boy, Nicholas Haneen, who was being brought to Dublin by carrier.[33] These occurrences, together with frequent escapes, or 'elopements' from the schools, tell their own tale.

There were inducements to encourage charter school children to remain Protestant. From 1748 a premium of £5 was given those who completed apprenticeship and married a Protestant.[34] The Local Committee of Longford school gave as its opinion in the 1780s that "the bounty granted on the intermarrying with a Protestant has been very instrumental in keeping the apprentices steady to the Protestant religion".[35] Also, of course, the process of what we would nowadays call 'religious formation' was supposed to be carried on by the routine of school life: Protestant teachers and servants, prayers several times a day, grace at meals, and regular church-going (though sometimes not as regular as the Society expected, since church-attendance took time from work in house or field). Furthermore, the curriculum of the schools placed a heavy emphasis on religious instruction, as that it permeated not only what would today be regarded as catechetical teaching, but also provided the texts for reading and spelling as well.

The First Report of the Irish Education Inquiry, (1825)[36] found the instruction given in the charter schools to be of a very limited nature, going on to state that the only books used were the scriptures, several expositions of the Church Catechism and other religious works. This was certainly the case in the early years. But it is difficult to reconcile with evidence that literature of a more varied nature was in use in the later eighteenth century. Such lists as we have for the early 1700s are indeed entirely moral and religious, with a heavy emphasis on the polemical and evangelical. They were the stock in trade of the charity schools.[37] By the 1790s, however, there is mention of spelling books,[38] and the Board of Education Report on the charter schools in 1808 lists spelling books, Reading Made Easy, Gough's and Voster's arithmetic books, and copper-plate pieces.[39] That having been said, the texts in the schools remained highly religious in tone and content, the ubiquitous Whole Duty of Man holding its place in the list for many years, with such other stalwarts as Sellon's Abridgement (of the Bible), Secker's Sermons: all this, be it remembered, for children who in many cases came from Irish-speaking homes. If it was hoped thereby to kill two birds with one stone, the evidence suggests that the aim was far from accurate, and both religion and education suffered equally.

The Society was receiving complaints about the standard of reading in some schools in 1749 and asked local committees to look into the matter.[40] Ten years later, masters and mistresses were warned that their salaries would only be paid when regular reports on the children's proficiency in reading, writing and saying the catechism were satisfactory.[41] In 1773 it was recorded that reports from visitors had shown that there was a great neglect of education,[42] and such deficiences often came to light when children were put out to apprenticeship.[43] Again and again the Committee of Fifteen complained about the standard of writing specimens that were forwarded to it by the schools, and unsuitable texts can hardly have played a major part in that deficiency; much more likely causes were the incompetence of the teachers and the manner in which the children's time was crowded with labour. Long before there were any external investigations, the society was aware of the manner in which many children were being exploited by ignorant masters and mistresses, despite the strict limits set on working hours, and in 1758 the Society issued a directive to its schools to the effect that it would not countenance masters who by keeping children at labour beyond the prescribed hours curtailed the time available for, as they put it, "instruction in reading, writing, and learning their prayers and catechism."[44]

A primary end to which the educational process was directed was the putting out of the children to domestic service, farm work or a trade. The Society seems genuinely to have tried to protect those who were apprenticed from its schools. Eventually a register was kept, and an inspector appointed whose duty was to investigate complaints by either apprentices or masters. Fitted out with a suit of clothes and possessed of a set of biblical and devotional books, the young apprentices were, at least in theory, set on the road to an industrious and Protestant way of life,[45] though sometimes, as the records show, it was difficult enough to find masters and mistresses for them. And while the Society protested that it did not coerce children into uncongenial places, there is evidence to the contrary.

It was not only the children's education that was frequently neglected. As public enquiries were to disclose in the early nineteenth century, children were often under-fed, ill-clothed, and in bad health. Here again was a situation that the Society thought it had guarded against, there being strict rules about diet, health and clothing.

One of the first tasks assigned to the Committee of Fifteen was that of preparing a dietary,[46] and according to

Committee of Fifteen minutes, the Society laid down a dietary in 1769, printed and circulated to schools, and stipulating a basic routine of oat or wheat meal, and potato, supplemented by meat, (once a week in winter and twice a week in summer, on Christmas Day and New Year's Day).[47] In addition there was an allowance for salt, barm, pepper, butter and sugar. Provision was also made for 'pink' (a mixture of new milk and water), for which butter-milk might be substituted, or occasionally beer. The amounts were regulated by a daily *per capita* allowance, and from time to time this was changed.

Where clothing was concerned, the Society tried various policies. It would appear that at first clothes for the children were issued to masters and mistresses and were made up centrally. A uniform of dark brown freize was introduced in 1770,[48] and by 1788 an allowance was being made to the masters and mistresses for clothing the children. There followed a period when some schools followed one system, some the other, and the 1825 Education Inquiry was to discover a major scandal where the placing of the clothing contract was concerned.[49]

Upon the local committees devolved the responsibility for supervising and inspecting the schools, and rooting out irregularities, but whether through incapacity, indifference, or sheer lack of inclination the Society found these committees to be far from assiduous in their duties. Again and again reports reached Dublin of masters who were flouting the Society's rules in one way or another, and local committees were exhorted to be vigilant. Not all cases of irregularity escaped detection, abuses *were* discovered and masters dismissed. But the Society was badly served by the local committees who failed to see, if they did not positively ignore, the cruelties and negligences that eventually came to light under public scrutiny, and which were by no means the result of callousness, let alone of deliberate policy in Dublin. There are many instances on record of occasions on which the Society reacted firmly to cases of abuse, and by the standards of the day showed humanity.[50]

Seeing the need for a responsible local agent who would be beholden to the Society for remuneration, a system of catechist-visitors was introduced in 1787 whose duties was to visit the schools weekly, examine the children in the principles of the Christian religion and other learning, and report to the Society monthly on the state of the schools.[51] Catechists varied in effectiveness: some were conscientious, some lazy, some dishonest and some in collusion with masters. All one can say is that matters would have been worse in some places but for them. R. Barry O'Brien's summary is too wide a generalization when he writes that "The masters of the schools lied to the catechists, the catechists lied to the local committees, the local committees lied to the Committee of Fifteen".[52]

But dishonesty did abound, due in no small measure to the calibre of persons who taught in the schools and the very real constraints and temptations that surrounded them. Without strict and vigilant supervision the system invited abuse and got it in large measure. Given eighteenth century lines of communication, perhaps it could hardly have been otherwise. Primate Boulter's grand design was, to quote a recent historian: 'A Taj Mahal built on quicksand'.[53] Be that as it may, there must be few, if any, other Irish educational endeavours of such an early date whose modus operandi carries us into so many corners of the eighteenth century social and economic scene.

NOTES

1. S.J. Connolly, "Religion and History: A Review Article", *Irish Economic and Social History*, X(1983), (London: Longmans, 1913), pp. 66-80.

2. Ibid., p. 68.

3. W.E.H. Lecky, *A history of Ireland in the eighteenth Century*, i. 235. The origins and early years of the Incorporated Society and its schools are dealt with in more detail in K. Milne, "Irish Charter Schools", *The Irish Journal of Education*, 1974, viii, i, pp. 3-29.

4. R.B. McDowell, "Ireland on the eve of the Famine". In *The Great Famine*, ed. R. Dudley Edwards and T. Desmond Williams. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1976), p. 55.

5. *Lords Jn. Ire.* (Dublin 1779) III, 169 ff. 6 December, 1731. (Printed in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 1, (1912), 1 1o).

6. London, S.P.C.K. Mss. ALB. Vol.7, 4904. Henry Maule at Cork to Mr. Jennings.

7. Dublin 1730. Printed in M.G. Jones, *Charity School Movement*. (London: Cass, 1938), pp. 233-5.

8. *An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland: from the opening of His Majesty's royal charter on the 6th day of February 1733 to the 25th day of March 1737*. (London, 1737, reprinted from the Dublin edition.

9. *An account of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society... from February 1733 to 6 March following*. (Dublin 1734).

10. *An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society, 1733-7*, p. 16.

11. *Commons Jn. Ire.* viii, i, 182.

12. Ibid.

13. *An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society 1733-7*. (Copy in T.C.D. library includes the plan)..

14. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

15. T.C.D. 5301, Rules and orders 1733-78, Board resolution, 1 August 1750.

16. *An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society, 1733-7*, p. 40.

17. Ibid., p. 8.

18. Ibid., pp.7-8.

19. *A continuation of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society ... 1740-42*, p. 3.

20. Ibid., p. 18.

21. *T.C.D. 5302. London Corresponding Society Minute Book, 1735-43.* (The earliest Board minutes begin in 1761 and earliest extant Committee of Fifteen minutes are dated 1771. However, printed *Reports* apart, other manuscript material helps to fill the lacunae of the initial decades).

22. *An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society ... 1733-7*. General rule VII.

23. Ibid., General rule V.

24. Inid., General rule VIII.

25. *23 Geo II, c 11*, *An act to provide for begging children and for the better regulation of charity schools*. (London 1757).

26. *A sermon preached before the Society Corresponding with the Incorporated Society ...* 27 April 1757.

27. T.C.D. 5225, Board minute 7 February 1765.

28. T.C.D. 5301, citing Board resolution, 4 December 1776.

29. T.C.D. 5225, Board minute, 3 De-ember 1767.

30. Sermond preached 23 October 1733, *God's goodness visible in our deliverance from popery.* (London 1735) Bodleian Library.

31, 17 October, 1745.

32. 21 April, 1747.

33. *Hibernian Journal*, 16 September 1771.

34. T.C.D. 5301, citing Board resolution, 28 March,1748.

35. Proceedings to 1 November 1786, p. 18.

36. *The First Report of the Irish Education Inquiry*, H.C. 1825, (400), xii, p. 25.

37. E.g. compare the list of books given in *Proceedings*, 1733-7, pp. 38-9, with that in *A letter from a residing member of the Society in Dublin for promoting charity schools in Ireland, to a corresponding member in the country*. (Dublin: 1721), pp.57 *et seq.*

38. T.C.D. 5227, Board minute 6 March 1793. T.C.D.5243, Board minute 9 September 1795.

39. *Reports presented to the House of Commons from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, Third Report: The Protestant Charter Schools*, H.C. 1809 (142), p. 40.

40. T.C.D. 5301, citing Board resolution 2 August, 1749.

41. Ibid., Committee of Fifteen resolution 23 May 1759.

42. Board Munute, 3 November 1773.

43. T.C.D. 5238, 20 September 1786.

44. T.C.D. 5301. Citing Committee of Fifteen resolution 24 May 1758.

45. T.C.D. 5301. Citing Board resolution 6 July 1737.

46. Ibid., 7 Decdmber 1737.

47. T.C.D. 5239, 23 May 1787.

48. T.C.D. 5301. Citing Board resolution 14 February 1770.

49. A relative of the Secretary's proved to be the Society's contractor.

50. T.C.D. 5236 (7 October 1772) Master and mistress discharged for excessively punishing children; T.C.D. 5239 (30 May 1787) Master and mistress of Monivea Nursery dismissed for improperly feeding children; T.C.D. 5237 (5 Decdmber 1781) local committee to investigate report that children at Creggan are varefoot; T.C.D. 5225 (6 November 1771) reports of abuses at Inniscarra investigated.

51. T.C.D. 5226, 2 May 1787.

52. R. Barry O'Brien, Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland, 1831-81. (London: Sampson Low, 1883), Vol. 1, p. 58.

53. Donald H. Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p.33.

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QUAKER EDUCATION IN 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY IRELAND

Cyril Gerard Brannigan

The Religious Society of Friends, more popularly known as Quakers, was founded by George Fox, a Leicestershire shoemaker, between the years 1648 - 1666. The movement began in the North of England and gradually spread southwards during the Civil War and the Interregnum. As far as Ireland was concerned Quakerism first made its' appearance during the Cromwellian period, and indeed the real founder of Irish Quakerism was an old Cromwellian soldier, William Edmundson, who settled in Ireland about 1652.

Ever since George Fox had established a school for boys and girls in Waltham Abbey in Essex, and a school for girls only at Shacklewell in 1668, the Society of Friends in both England and Ireland had set great store by education. Nevertheless, the first Irish Quaker School did not come into existence until 1677, when a day school was established at Mountmellick by William Edmundson, followed by a school at Cork in 1678 and one at Dublin in 1680. The early Quaker day schools, however, were not very successful, and the many new ones being opened in the first half of the eighteenth century were scarcely sufficient to replace those that were closing.

Nevertheless, the second half of the eighteenth century saw the establishment of more securely based schools. This new phase in Irish Quaker education began with the establishment of the first Quaker national boarding school at Edenderry in 1764. This school, however, was for girls only. The next major stage of Quaker educational endeavour in Ireland saw the establishment of "co-educational" provincial boarding schools at Lisburn in Ulster, Mountmellick in Leinster and Newtown, Waterford in Munster. These three boarding schools were firmly established by the end of the eighteenth century, and were directly under the control of the Quaker provincial and national meetings, (the main organs of Quaker administration). Throughout the nineteenth and part of the twentieth centuries the Irish Quaker provincial boarding schools formed the basis of the Quaker system of education in Ireland.

The shape which Quaker education in Ireland took during the first two centuries of the sects settlement here was largely determined by two major aims which lay at the root of the educational philosophy of the Society of Friends. The first, and undoubtedly the more important, of these two great aims was what could be called the religious and moral aim, and the second may be classified as the secular and vocational one.

For Quakers in Ireland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, education meant, first and foremost, religious and denominational training.[1] Children were required, from a very early age to learn the religious principles of the Society of Friends, and parents were expected to teach them. Later on, with the establishment of Quaker day-schools, the latter establishments took over some of the religious function, but responsibility still rested, to a considerable degree, with the parents. A minute of the National Meeting of 1714 put it like this:

> It is the earnest desire of this Meeting that all Friends zealously concerned to educate and bring up their children and servants in the knowledge of the principles of the true Christian religion as professed by us, that they may be able to give a reason for the hope that is in them according to the Apostles' advice. I Peter. 3.15. [2]

Indeed, if parents failed to provide a satisfactory religious education for their children, the Society felt obliged to intervene in order to rectify what they considered was an extremely grave omission.[3] Probably the most distinguished, and certainly the most prosperous of Irish Quakers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, was the Dublin Merchant Anthony Sharp. Referring to the aims of education the latter declared:

> ... Education that is good is first to educate a child in the fear of the Lord - Secondly, to be educated is the knowledge of Holy Scriptures - Next and thirdly, after good literature, orthography, arithmetic, etc., a good trade honestly to live, to help and not to be burdensome to others. 4

The list of priorities outlined above by Anthony Sharp was to remain the standard hierarchy of Quaker aims in education for two centuries.

The overriding emphasis on religion in Quaker schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries meant that the Bible and the Quaker Catechism were the two most important texts used in those establishments, and a considerable portion of the school day was devoted to their study. Indeed, in the majority of Irish Quaker schools, whether they were day or boarding establishments, the school day generally began and ended with readings from the Bible, and classroom activities were normally punctuated with prayers and readings from the Quaker Catechism. Although, Sacred Scripture played an immensely important part in Quaker education, it must be emphasized, however, that as far as the religious principles of the Society of Friends were concerned, the Bible played a secondary role. For the Quakers, the Bible was not always regarded as divinely inspired,[5] and was no substitute for the "Inner Light".[6] The doctrine of the "Inner Light" emphasized the personal and direct nature of the relationship between God and man, and no books, no matter how sacred, could compensate for this. Quaker children were brought into the meeting-houses with their parents, where they were encouraged through silent-worship to seek direct divine illumination. It was hoped by the Quaker elders that such religious worship would not only affect the personality of their children, but would also influence for the good their outlook on life. The silent-worship of the Quaker meeting house, was a form of worship in which all could take part in ministry. It placed an emphasis on personal inspiration which was likely to foster an attitude of individuality and responsibility.[7] Such an attitude was one of the primary aims of Quaker religious education.

There was another aspect to Quaker religious education, however, which seemed at odds with the ideas of individuality and personal responsibility emanating from the silent-worship of the Quaker meeting house. This mainly concerned the methods used in the study of the Bible and the Quaker catechism. The principal method of studying these texts was the mechanical one of rote learning. Large sections had to be learned by heart,[8] and little concession was given to personal interpretation. Such study was meaningless and extremely frustrating to the majority of Quaker pupils involved, and it is difficult to see anything of educational value in it. To the Quaker authorities, however, there was a dual purpose behind such laborious activities. Firstly, exercises in rote learning, it was believed, provided a valuable discipline, and secondly, the material learned, if not properly understood by immature minds, would become a residue of experience which could be turned to better account later on.[9]

Closely related to the religious aim of Quaker education was the matter of character formation. Besides being well versed in the religious principles of their Society, Quaker children were expected to live out their principles in daily life. This meant a strict and consistent adherence to a rigid disciplinary code. As far as moral education was concerned Quakers were expected to follow a code which emphasized "Plainess of speech, behaviour and apparel",[10] and such aspects of puritanism were strictly inculcated in the Quaker schools. Quaker children were expected to be, first and foremost, truthful and honest people and every significant aspect of their behaviour in everyday life was to be measured against the yardstick of "truth". The rules for the management of Leinster provincial school, Mountmellick, for instance, state unambiguously that:

> The master and mistress are advised particularly to endeavour, through divine assistance, early to impress upon the minds of the children, the necessity of a strict adherence to truth, an abhorrence of falsehood, and the Remembrance of their Creater. [11]

Indeed, one of the most serious faults a Quaker child could commit was to tell lies. In this regard, the rules for the Quaker boarding school at Clonmel made it clear that:

> If they commit fault that they candidly acknowledge it. [12]

Quaker children were encouraged to tell the truth at all times and were frequently rewarded for doing so. At a schoolmaster's conference in Dublin in 1705, for instance, it was decided that "children should not be corrected in passion, nor for their lessons more than for untruthlike behaviour".[13] Although a strict adherence to the truth is a lofty and noble aim in any educational system, it sometimes was carried to extremes in the case of some over conscientious Quakers. For the latter, telling the truth meant much more than merely not telling lies. It also meant the avoidance of all forms of exaggeration or overstatement, and even, we may presume understatement. Mary Leadbeater, the Quaker authoress from Ballitore, speaking of her mother's strictness in this regard, says:

> ... So strict was her adherence to truth that she scarcely allowed herself to assert anything positively, nor would she permit us to do so; and so accustomed have I been to this habitual caution, that even to this day, if I hear an extravagant expression, I examine it involuntary in my mind before I perceive the exaggeration. [14]

Clearly, this is a case where a lofty educational aim has gone too far and has done its work too well. This rather unfortunate state of affairs was clearly the result of a worthy educational aim, namely the cultivation of truthfulness, being too rigidly interpreted. Such an inflexible approach to rules and regulations was a not uncommon characteristic of the puritanical element in Quakerism. Such an approach was not unexpected in a sect which emphasized a literal interpretation of the Bible.

The Quaker emphasis on telling the truth at all times can be most clearly seen in the attitude of the Society of Friends in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the administering or taking of oaths. Interpreting literally the Scriptural injunction "Swear not at all", the early Quakers refused to take oaths, as they claimed that the latter implied a double standard of truthfulness.[15] Overall, however, it is probably correct to say that the Quaker educational aim of inculcating a strict adherence to the truth was extremely successful and beneficial for the Society of Friends. The emphasis on truthfulness was a major influence on the development of the Quaker character, and indeed such an emphasis was of considerable assistance to the sect in its dealings with others in the world of business. Quakers, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries acquired a remarkable reputation for fair dealing with people of other denominations in the fields of trade and commerce, and although some outsiders were annoyed, at first, by the refusal of Quaker business men to barter, insisting instead on a fixed price for their products, it was soon realized that the practice was based on what the Quakers considered was a fair price, consistent with their notion of truth.[16]

Philanthropy had always been an important characteristic of the Quakers, and in the nineteenth century in particular, it became the dominant one. It is not surprising therefore, to find that an important aim of Quaker education in Ireland was to cultivate in children a charitable disposition towards their fellow man. Indeed, the doctrine of the "Inner light" with its emphasis on "that of God in each man",[17] helped to provide a philosophical basis for Quaker benevolence towards all mankind, and this theme was constantly reinforced in Quaker schools. In the rules for the girls' boarding school, at Clonmel, for instance, the pupils were urged to "cultivate an affectionate regard for one another" - and "if one be offended, by no means to revenge it, but to feel after that charitable disposition".[18] In consistency with this fundamental Quaker tenet, the pupils in Irish Quaker schools were constantly being reminded to act in a cooperative rather than in a competitive spirit. James White, the master of Ballitore boarding school from 1806-1836, was keenly aware of this aim and he considered that any "advantage arising from the agency of emulation is more than counterbalanced by the spirit of envy, and the other bad passions which it apt to excite in the breasts of disappointed candidates".[19] Although emulation was sometimes resorted to by Quaker schoolmasters, it was not encouraged by the Quaker authorities who saw it as counter productive and contrary

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to the spirit of Christianity. The ideal of Christian charity towards one's fellow man was constantly being emphasised in eighteenth and nineteenth century Quaker schools, and such ideas often found expression in the textbooks being used in those schools. In this regard, a few brief examples will suffice. In Lindley Murray's English Reader, for instance, a textbook which was extremely popular in Irish Quaker schools in the early nineteenth century, the philanthropic ideal was succintly expressed in the following verse:

CHARITY

In faith and hope the world will disagree;
But all mankind's concern is charity. [20]

Furthermore, in chapter three of the same publication, under the heading "Didactic Pieces", there is an extremely moralistic essay on "Forgiveness".

Despite trying to cultivate the ideals of charity and christian politeness amongst their pupils, Quaker schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not always successful. In a letter from a past pupil of the Munster provincial boarding school, at Newtown, Waterford, to the school centenary committee in 1898, it is recorded that in the early nineteenth century "there had been too much fagging and even a kind of cruelty practised on the little ones for very trifling things".[21] In contrast to English public schools, however, which were notorious for excesses of this kind in the nineteenth century, the incidence of recorded cruelties in Irish Quaker schools was considerably lower. The Quaker philanthropic principle which influenced the Society's schools in Ireland had a humanizing effect on both masters and pupils, which must have compensated, to some degree, for the austerity of the discipline. Admittedly there were occasions when the Quaker testimony of peaceful living seemed to abandon the schools. The Leinster provincial school at Mountmellick, for instance, went through a grim period in the 1820s and 30s,[22] and the English Quaker school at Sidcot in Yorkshire underwent mutinies in 1846 and 1859.[23] Nevertheless, these examples are exceptional, and as far as Ireland was concerned, Quaker masters were regularly being reminded by the national and provincial meetings to administer punishments only in a cool and restrained manner. It was further enjoined that such punishments should always be medicinal and never retaliatory.[24] The extent to which the masters actually adhered to this principle, and the way in which the pupils reacted to it, would seem, overall, to have been reasonably consistent with the very important educational aim which inspired it.

Samuel Tuke, the English Quaker educationalist and founder of the Friends Education Society at Ackworth in Yorkshire in the early nineteenth century, saw the subjection of the will and the fostering of habits of steady application as important aims of Quaker education.[25] From the earliest times, the Society of Friends had regarded the will as a very dangerous and unpredictable faculty, and they felt that a major priority of any system of education should be to discipline it. Joseph Pike, the puritanical, though extremely influential, Cork Quaker in the early eighteenth century, had very definite views about the subjection of the will. In his Journal he complained of "the fondness and indulgence of many parents to their children, in giving them their own way and wills so long, until the root of evil has grown and spread itself forth into many evil branches, and at length, they have been alienated from Truth and Friends".[26]

In order to submit the will to discipline and to facilitate the formation of habits of steady application, the Society of Friends established a system of provincial boarding schools in Ireland in the late eighteenth century. These schools were governed by a rigid disciplinary code, which sought to educate the children in an extremely "guarded" manner. The daily life of these schools was legislated for, down to the smallest degree, so consequently there was little room left for discretion, either on the part of the teacher or the pupil. Such a regimented schedule, it was hoped, would "teach" young Quakers to be disciplined in their lives. They rose at 6 a.m. in Summer and 7 a.m. in Winter to the sound of a bell, and their whole day was regulated in this manner. What they wore, spoke, read, ate, and even played was determined by an unyielding disciplinary system, the object of which was to produce consistent, reliable, industrious, obedient and serious-minded young Quakers.

Quaker education not only tried to discipline a Quaker's inner life, his beliefs, attitudes and feelings, but on a secondary level, it sought to influence even his external appearance. Although the doctrine of the "Inner Light" emphasized the "inward" aspects of man, the Quakers also laid considerable emphasis on the outer. We have already briefly referred to regulations governing external factors such as plainness in apparel, behaviour and speech. There were many other minute regulations besides, concerning the quality and colour of clothing and the wearing of perriwigs amongst others.[27] In addition to these, Quaker education laid considerable stress on the adoption of proper posture and deportment, and there are numerous references to these aims in the literature on schools, now deposited in the Quaker archives. At Mountmellick, for instance, the teachers were enjoined to "inculcate a modest and humble deportment" in their pupils, and the Mistress was to take advantage of the garden walks in order to correct any "unbecoming awkward gestures" in the girls.[28] In a similar vein, Mary Tolerton, a past pupil of Lisburn Quaker school in the early nineteenth century, who became a housekeeper at

Newtown in the 1820s, related how at the Ulster provincial school:

> ... great care was taken as to our carriage and deportment, lest we should contract any bad habit of stooping or shuffling in walking, etc. Those were the days of backboards and seats without backs. 29

She goes on to relate what must have been a very harrowing experience indeed, for a young girl, all for the cause of deportment. She says that the children at the school were regularly asked to "stand straight with our backs against the wall, sometimes to lie flat on the floor, or our shoulders were held back with bandages in order to expand our chests. Once I remember being tied up in this way, which so distressed me that I began to cry, and as I could not raise my hands, another girl was told to take my handkerchief and dry my tears for me. Never again was I bandaged for stooping".[30] One must wonder at the supposed benefits of such a procedure as related above. Granted, physical education is an essential and extremely valuable part of one's general education, and the Quakers must be complimented on their interest in cultivating correct carriage and posture at a time when the latter was shamefully neglected in most contemporary school systems. Again, it would seem, however, that Irish Quakers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had the right principle, but interpreted it too rigidly. The result was an inflexibility and insensitivity of approach which probably, in many cases, caused considerable emotional distress and perhaps even permanent psychological damage, thus offsetting the undoubted benefits which could result from a more liberal application of the principle.

While, the main aim of Quaker education in Ireland during the first two centuries of the Society's ministry here, was indisputably, religious and moral in character, rather than literary, secular subjects had, nevertheless, a significant role to play in the Quaker curriculum. There was a strong utilitarian element in early Quaker education, however, which William Penn gave voice to in a letter to his wife and children, on leaving England in 1682. In it he says:

> For their learning be liberal ... but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with Truth and Godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind, but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses or shops, measuring, surveying, dialling, navigation; but agriculture is especially in my life; let my children be husbandmen and housewives. [31]

The strong anti-intellectual bias in early Quaker education, stemmed partly from the doctrine of the "Inner Light", with its stress on direct illumination and reliance on one's personal resources, rather than on the externally written word, and partly from the antipathy of the early Quakers towards a learned priesthood, or those whom they disparagingly called "professors". In his book Fruits of Solitude, Penn saw the true aim of education as the making of the man rather than the scholar,[32] and this idea dominated Quaker education in Ireland down to the end of the nineteenth century.

For eighteenth and nineteenth century Quakers the main aim of an education in the secular subjects was the vocational one of preparing pupils for suitable occupations in society when they should leave school. For the children of those in "low circumstances", as the phrase went, manual work, coupled with an elementary education in the three Rs, was designed to fit the recipients to take their allotted stations in the lower ranks of society,[33] while in the schools for the wealthier Quaker pupils, the aim was to prepare the latter for occupations in trade, business or the professions.[34] Education was not seen by the early Quakers as an avenue to social mobility, as they deprecated any attempt to raise a son to a higher social position than that which his father held.[35] The education provided by the Quaker provincial boarding schools at Lisburn, Mountmellick and Newtown, Waterford, aimed at preparing the girls for the role of useful household servants, and the boys for an apprenticeship to a useful trade when they left the school at fourteen years of age. Indeed, the utilitarian and vocational aspects of such an education can be clearly seen in the fact that the provincial school committees actively discouraged pupils from staying on at school beyond fourteen years.[36]

Although the secular education offered by the three provincial boarding schools in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was extremely narrow, being largely confined to a study of the three Rs, a much wider curriculum was offered to the children of those in "more easy circumstances" in the few private Quaker schools in Ireland at this period. The most important of the private establishments were Ballitore boys boarding school in Co. Kildare, Sarah Grubb's school for girls at Suir Island, Clonmel, and Ann Shannon's "finishing school" for girls in Mountmellick. These schools, designed for the more affluent pupils, aimed at preparing their scholars for roles in the middle ranks of society. Indeed, Ballitore school, while providing a traditional education in the classics, also managed to incorporate the best elements of vocationalism into its curriculum. Abraham Shackleton Senior, when opening his school in 172[illegible] made the aims of his curriculum very clear when he spoke of "fitting the youth for business".[37] The latter point, designed mainly for Quaker pupils destined for careers in business, was instrumental in putting Ballitore school far ahead of its time in Ireland, when most second level schools taught an exclusively classical curriculum. Indeed Ballitore, which also accepted non-Quakers on its rolls, was a remarkable synthesis of two distinct approaches to education. The traditional liberal curriculum of Greek, Latin and mathematics, on the one hand, was balanced by business oriented courses in bookkeeping, stenography and modern languages on the other. It is perhaps not totally surprising therefore that Ballitore Quaker school could provide an education for such diverse and distinguished pupils as James Napper Tandy, Edmund Burke and Cardinal Paul Cullen.

Sarah Grubbs' school for girls at Suir Island, Clonmel, went beyond an elementary curriculum, but extra subjects were severely curtailed, and were largely confined to what was termed "useful History and Geography".[38] In fact, the Clonmel establishment was based largely on a similar type school for girls at York, of which Sarah Grubb was a patron. The aims of the curriculum at Suir Island were, to all intents and purposes, identical to those of York, which Sarah Grubb summarized as being the inculcation of "Simplicity of manners, and a religious improvement of the morals of youth".[39] Ann Shannon's school at Mountmellick was primarily a "finishing" school where pupils were taught necessary "accomplishments" as a preparation for their entrance into middle class Quaker society.

Although Quaker education in Ireland in the period under study was excessively utilitarian, the Quakers, nevertheless, had tremenduous regard for such education, limited though it was. This is borne out by the National Meeting of 1746, which recorded an extraordinary enlightened minute for the time. In it they said:

> The good education of our offspring is a matter of the highest moment, and it's the desire of this Meeting that parents might have it at heart, being of the judgment that what is laid out for that purpose may be of more service to them than if so much were reserved to be added to their portions. 40

The quotation above shows that years before it was a generally accepted truth, the Society of Friends accepted that a good education was worth spending money on, and that nothing would compensate a child in after life, if the education he received was below what he should have had. What the early Quakers regarded as a good education, however, was primarily a religious and denominational one, combined with a fairly narrow selection of what was thought most useful in the secular subjects.

Despite the Quaker emphasis on religion and on the basic skills of literacy in their schools, there was another important element never far from the surface of Quaker consciousness, which exerted a considerable influence on the curriculum, and consequently on the Quaker character. This was the Quaker attitude to the natural world. Quaker education, even in its most limited form, always tried to inculcate in its recipients a love and respect for the world of natural science.[41] The world of man, with its ever present threat to morality, was to be shunned, and the Quaker child was to be protected from such potentially evil influences, by being educated in the "guarded" environment of the boarding school. This world of nature, however, with its fauna and flora, was regarded as an important learning environment for the Quaker child and the latter was encouraged to study it. The literature in Irish Quaker schools at this period abounds in carefully selected extracts illustrating this important Quaker value, and articles entitled "Against cruelty to insects" or "Cruelty to Brutes censured", speak for themselves.[42] Indeed, it is no accident that gardening was one of the main recreations of Quakers at this time, and gardening by pupils was encouraged in all Quaker schools since it was said to promote skill, neatness and order. It was agreed that gardening tended to the formation of industrious habits and taught the value of time.[43] Quaker teachers noted a general improvement of their pupils' behaviour "during the busy months and a relapse during the winter ones".[44]

Quaker education was religious and vocational in aim. It was not cultural in the sense that interests could be pursued for their private and personal intimations of pleasure or enrichment. Only if those interests had moral and religious ends were they to be followed. Those subjects, therefore in which one had personal pleasure or elation because they were beautiful, or because they deepened human understanding, or because they enriched emotional experience or gave intellectual satisfaction, were not to be taught.[45] The education provided in Quaker schools was therefore an extremely narrow one, and all areas of the curriculum were subordinated to either religious or vocational principles. It was such principles, indeed, which were to determine the basic aims of Quaker education for two hundred years.

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IMAGES OF WOMEN IN NINETEENTH CENTURY SCHOOLBOOKS

Lorcan Walsh

The nineteenth century witnessed great changes in the role of women in Irish society. The Great Famine, according to Professor Lee, weakened drastically the position of women.[1] With the decline of domestic industry a change from tillage to pasture farming, and the development of a sophisticated diet meant women's role became less important economically, and more domestic in effect. Widespread emigration, and a decrease in the marriage rate led to less well-defined roles for women. It is interesting to note how these changing roles were reflected in prevailing images of women. An analysis of textbooks used in schools is a legitimate method of identifying such images. What children are taught in schools represents the consensus view of what a society considers important. By a process of selection certain facts and images are put before the society's children. An examination of schoolbooks used in nineteenth century Irish schools reveals what facts and images about women were portrayed.

The reading books examined are those of the Commissioners of National Education and of the Christian Brothers. In one year alone it was estimated that the National Board circulated approximately 619,000 of the reading books while the Christian Brothers circulated over 91,000 during a similar period of time.[2] Both sets of readers were the ones most often found in Irish classrooms. The National Board's books were compiled in the early 1830s, and went through several revisions. These books were compiled to satisfy the criteria of of nondenominational education - a system which was close to the hearts of the Commissioners. This set of reading books included a specific Reading Book for the Use of Female Schools, a book which was replaced by Girls Reading Book in the 1860s. The Christian Brothers compiled a set of reading books in the 1840s to reflect their denominational system of education. The Brothers compiled their books for boys only. Consequently, there is little reference to women in their books. However, a model of motherhood does emerge from their books.

It needs to be pointed out that schoolbooks, except for the ones specifically written for girls, were addressed to boys. In the minds of the compilers the child was "male". Thus while the books of the National Board were geared for a system which was co-educational their content reflected a thoroughly male orientation. One has to turn to the books compiled directly for girls to detect the explicit attitudes and images of women which were conveyed.

Writing about their Reading Book for the Use of Female Schools, the Commissioners stated:

> It contains information peculiarly adapted to the character and pursuits of females in the middle and humble ranks of life. 3

Even a cursory glance at the content of the reading books shows what "character and pursuits" were envisaged. The main topics covered in the books were the care of children, housekeeping and cooking. Obviously these topics were intended to cater for the legitimate pursuits of women in nineteenth century Ireland. The development of "character" was catered for in the discussion of the affections, gentleness, honesty, duties of brothers and sisters and the government of the tongue and thoughts.

The largest source of female labour in nineteenth century Ireland was domestic service. In 1891, 255,000 females earned their living as domestic servants. If the women who served brothers and sisters in a similar period are included the figure employed in domestic service expands to 394,000.[4] This outlet for female employment was reflected in the Commissioners' reading books.

Readers were advised that at an early stage girls must be socialised into taking up domestic duties:

> In her own family a girl may easily be habituated to the practice of domestic duties, beginning with the simplest, and going on to the more difficult... [5]

The Reading Book for Female Schools carried on the socialisation process begun in the home. Lessons concerning the care of children were plentiful. The future minder of children was advised that obedience in a child was very important:

> The first thing, therefore, to be aimed at, is to bring your child under perfect subjection; teach him that he must obey you; accustom him to immediate and cheerful acquiescence in your will - this is obedience, and this is absolutely essential to good environment. [6]

In the care of children an obvious distinction was to be made between boys and girls. Girls in particular were to be taught knitting, weaving, and patchwork. The arrangement and ordering of one's own playthings was a virtue advised for girls only.[7] Obviously the training in domestic duties was not seen as fit training for boys. Practical advice on the physical care of children abounds.[8] Advice on diet, cleanliness, clothing and even the temperature of the children's environment was included. Specific advice was offered also on "muscular exercise, and the animal passions".[9]

The expected domestic duties of a young girl were to include the art of cookery.[10] The reader was advised about care of cooking utensils, the care of food, the uses of salt, the baking of bread and mushrooms. The girls' training for domestic duty was completed by lessons on the furnishing of a house.[11] Punctuality, order, and cleanliness were the habits advised for the proper management of a home. As well as such demands it was expected that the domestic servant be proficient at bookkeeping:

> She should be a good accountant, having books in which she may note down strictly all the current expenses of the house ... It is her province to have the charge of the store-room, with the preserves, pickles, and confectionery, and to see that no waste takes place in each article. 12

Where girls should attain such a knowledge of accountancy is not clear as there were no lesson included to cater for this need.

The role of a woman as mother was also particularly catered for in the reading books compiled specifically for girls. It is ironic how in the nineteenth century the role of the women as mother became more specialised but yet more downgraded. Before the industrial revolution women played a key role in the economic subsistence of the family. With the centralisation of capital and a movement away from labour intensive farming there emerged a clear-cut physical and psychological divergence between the home and the workplace. Women became onlookers as the business of commerce took the centre stage. Women looked after the household, and cared for the children. One writer put it in the following manner in 1884:

> Home is clearly Woman's intended place; and the duties which belong to Home are Woman's peculiar province ... It is in the sweet sanctities of domestic life, - in home

> duties - in whatever belongs to and makes the happiness of Home, that Woman is taught by the spirit to find scope for her activity - to recognise her sphere of most appropriate service. 13

A mother writing to her daughter in 1817 had already commented:

> It is chiefly there (the home) that the lustre of the female character is discernible; because home is its proper place. 14

Work outside the household was considered unbecoming for women. Women who broke this stereotype suffered from the prevailing prejudice. Even successful writers found this prejudice strong enough to assume masculine pen names. Anne, Charlotte and Emily Bronte wrote as Acton, Currer and Ellis Bell. Mary Ann Evans took the pen name of George Eliot. As the compilers of the schoolbooks under examination were males, and reflected in these books the prevailing social attitudes, it is no surprise to find that Victorian attitudes towards women were transmitted.

The Supplement to the Fourth Reading Book contained a section which was intended particularly for girls. This section included lessons which were "specifically intended for the instruction of females in household and domestic duties".[15]

The domestic duty most emphasised in the Supplement and in the Reading Book for Use in Female Schools was the care of children. The cult of motherhood emerges strongly through the pages of both sets of reading books. There are many pieces of poetry where the author reveals a tearful backward glance at his dear old mother whose love was boundless. One orphan child was made to say:

> I had a mother, once, like you,
> to keep me by her side;
> She cherish'd me, and lov'd me too;
> But soon alas! she died;

Now sorrowful, and full of care,
I'm alone and weary every where. [16]

The extent of a mother's love was painted as being limitless:

Hast thou sounded the depths of yonder sea,
And counted the sands that under it be?
Hast thou measured the height of heaven above?
Then may'st thou speak of a Mother's love.

...

Evening and morn hast thou watched the bee
Go forth on her errands of industry?
The bee for herself hath gathered and toil'd,
But the Mother's cares are all for her child. [17]

The idolising of motherhood was a key theme, in all of the National Board's books. In the Third Book the theme was referred to in the form of question and answer:

Who fed me from her gentle breast,
And hushed me in her arms to rest,
And on my cheek sweet kisses prest?
My Mother.

When pain and sickness made me cry,
Who gazed upon my heavy eye,
And wept for fear that I should die?
My Mother. [18]

The Christian Brothers in their reading books were no less enthusiastic in eulogising the vocation of a mother. In one piece of poetry the poet proclaimed his devotion to his mother and reassured her that in her old age he would remain faithful.[19] An orphan reflecting on his mother related:

O Mother! Mother! in my heart
Thy image still shall be;
And I will hope in heaven, at last,
That I may meet with thee. [20]

Part of this preoccupation with motherhood was due to the general nostalgia for a simpler and romanticised past so prevalent in the nineteenth century. One American reader in 1872 proclaimed:

> Mother, Home, and Heaven ... are three of the most beautiful words in the English language. [21]

An old lady it was advised in another American reader should be helped across the road not for any intrinsic value, but because she would be "somebody's mother".[22] Her status as a mother was what demanded attention, not her status as a woman.

An important part of a mother's job was her spiritual care of her children. The power of a mother to guide her soul to heaven was related in a poem celebrating the power of maternal piety.[23] Religious formation was considered a central function of a mother:

> Some people talk about the management of children as if it were a science. Nothing is, however, in reality, more simple. Kindness, patience, undeviating firmness of purpose, and a strict regard to principle in all our dealings with them ... will, under God's blessing, accomplish all that can be done by early education towards regulating the heart and understanding. And thus they will be prepared to receive the seeds of those higher moral and religious principles, by which, as heirs of immortality, they are to be educated for a better and endless life. [24]

When the spiritual preparation was catered for only then should a mother engage in other areas of development.

The "good mother" was defined in the Brothers' Second Book as one who made her children say their prayers.[25] In the Brothers' books lessons on the Virgin Mary were a very prominent feature. She was held up as a model before the readers. In fact, in both sets of readers, there was a religious model portrayed.

The use of such models served very definite functions. Ian Barbour has described a model as:

> A symbolic representation of selected aspects of the behaviour of a complex system for particular purposes. It is an imaginative tool for ordering experience, rather than a description of the world. [26]

The model of motherhood which emerges from the schoolbooks served both cognitive and non-cognitive functions. Some of the secular lessons attempted to tell the future domestic servant and mother practical knowledge on the care of a home and family. However, it was in the area of non-cognitive functions that the model of womanhood must have been most effective. The imagery employed in the reading books demanded a commitment to a secular and religious dedication. Stories about the spiritual role of a mother were used to evoke definite attitudes. In fact, according to Braithwaite, such stories' only function was to recommend attitudes.[27] These stories were imaginative ways of endorsing a moral viewpoint. It was not important that the models put before the young readers be factually true. What was important was that models were used which should inspire awe, reverence, and, finally, imitation. These models served in laying down the ground rules for future development of the role of women in Irish society. The lot of the Irish mother in the late nineteenth century was not a happy one. The threat of emigration was one of the more concrete realities in her life. The emergence of a religious model of motherhood with emphasis on selfless love and service ensured that the future generation would be well prepared to see their sons and daughters leave them in search of a better life. In the works of writers like Pearse and O'Casey a mother's sorrow was compared to that of Mary, Mother of Sorrows.[28] Irish girls were being socialised into assuming a role where sorrow would play a central part. This socialisation was being achieved through the creation of a model of motherhood which made superhuman demands and which made no mention of self-development. Only the office of domestic service was considered an acceptable option outside that of motherhood. No mention was made in the books of any other vocational opportunities. No mention was made of woman suffrage, even in the revised books of the last decade of the nineteenth century. No mention was made for the girls who might wish to work in factories or mills at home or abroad. This leads one to conclude that the schoolbooks under examination were very limited in preparing girls for life. Indeed it can be argued that the books not only failed to open avenues but in fact closed off, in an attitudinal manner, possible roads to future development.

The different values advocated for boys than girls bears out the view that a very limited lifestyle was foreseen for girls. Readers were informed that by a persevering diligence to the economic "virtues" of frugality, self-denial, and timethrift, one could transgress the great divide between rich and poor. Social mobility was possible. The self-made man came into his own in the forms of William Hutton and James Ferguson.[29] Their success stories were related with enthusiasm in the reading books. They were prime examples of men who had achieved upward social mobility in an industrial age. However, the examples given of such successes were always male. The concept of the "self-made man" incorporated a view which was definitely gender based. Biographical sketches of women characters emphasised women who became known for their holiness or charity, for example, St. Brigid or Catherine of Liverpool.[30] In the Reading Book for Female Schools it was the example of people like Lucy Nevers, "who knows how to make herself very useful to her mother and her older sisters", and Catherine Benson, whose lack of honesty was not to be imitated, who were put before the female readers.[31] There are no references to such self-made people as Hutton or Ferguson in the girls' reading books. Such preoccupations for a female would have been anachronistic in the Victorian society of the nineteenth century.

The reading books went further than ignoring various vocational opportunities for girls. The books revealed a whole set of values or virtues which were deemed most suitable for girls. Thus such things as gentleness, kindness, "Female Benevolence", sympathy, honesty, and "Female Piety", received special treatment.[32] Readers were informed by the compiler:

> I have always remarked that women, in all countries, are civil, obliging, tender, and humane; that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modest. They do not hesitate, like men to perform a hospitable or generous action; not haughty, nor arrogant, nor supercilious, but full of courtesy, and fond of society; industrious, economical, ingenuous; more liable, in general, to err, than man, but in general, also more virtuous, and performing more good actions than he. [33]

In a lesson on 'The Sick Chamber' it was claimed:

> It has often been remarked, that in sickness, there is no hand like a woman's hand, no heart like a woman's heart; and there is not.

Compared to the paradigm of womanly care men, it was claimed, will succumb to tiredness:

> His eyes will close, and his spirit grow impatient of the dreary task; and, though love and anxiety remain undiminished, his mind will own to itself a creeping or irrestible selfishness, of which indeed he may be ashamed, and which he may struggle to reject, but which, despite all his efforts, remains to characterise his nature, and prove in one instance at least, his manly weakness. [35]

So it was claimed in the reading books that women possessed a set of virtues which were particularly suited to their nature. As Joan Burstyn says, "By the cultivation of characteristics particularly feminine - self-denial, forebearance, fidelity - women were to teach the whole world how to live in virtue".[36] This exalted view of women was essentially a device to maintain them in a subservient position. The characteristics of women which were admired were the ones of little economic value. Women were urged to cultivate these characteristics. History shows that it has been the economic and political values which have been the determining ones. Kindness, gentleness, humility, etc., have played a subservient role. When these virtues became identified with one particular group it was a short step to the group itself adopting a subservient role.

The compilers of the reading books were not as explicit as they could have been in claiming a subservient role for women. There were only a few examples of where it was claimed women should be subject to men. When it is seen how explicit the same books were in suggesting the subordinate position of the poor vis-a-vis the rich it is a relief that such explicitness was not repeated when talking about women. One has only to look at the posture of feminine obedience so evident in Victorian art to see how widespread the concept was. John Everett Millais has 'Ophelia' floating passively to her death. Victorian sculpture portrayed the idea of the nude in "a posture of passive endurance".[37] Even Rosseau, whose work Emile broke from many of the traditional doctrines of education, perpetuated the idea of female powerlessness. A women was defined by Rousseau as man's "helpmate":

> Man should be strong and active; the woman should be weak and passive; the one must have both the power and the will; it is enough that the other should offer little resistance. 38

Rousseau advocated that the characteristics of "gentleness" and "cleanliness" were to be particularly emphasised in the education of women. It is obvious that Rousseau's model corresponds quite closely with the attitudes expressed in the reading books of the Commissioners of National Education and of the Christian Brothers. Even the relatively liberal French writer, Necker de Saussure, advised mothers to teach their offspring, "patience, resignation, and all the gentle virtues that a woman is infallibly called to exercise".[39] The cultivation of these virtues means that certain characteristics were deemed more natural to girls. Girls were to be formed in a radically different way.

In summary one can see that the reading books examined displayed an image of women which helped to preserve the social order. Consequently, just as the poor must look to the rich, the child to the parent, the negro to the white, so the women must look to the man. Women were taught to accept their position in life. Discussion on topics, which might affect women's thinking in a manner which might threaten the existing order, like suffrage and sexuality, was totally ignored. In contrast to boys the duty of parenthood was emphasised. Very few lessons touched on the question of fatherhood. The whole world of economics and politics was opened up to boys. The world of the home and domestic service was the limit of female development. Her separate role was matched by a separate set of virtues and values. The roles outlined for girls and the values inculcated were the ones of little economic and political value. Thus it is no surprise to find the bearers of these economically and politically subservient roles and values to be regarded themselves as subservient.

FOOTNOTES

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29. Sequel No. 2 to Second Book of Lessons. Commissioners of National Education (1841), p. 41: Supplement to Fourth Book of Lessons. Commissioners of National Education (1850), p. 17.

30. Fourth Book of Reading Lessons. Commissioners of National Education (1834), pp. 311-2: Third Book of Reading Lessons, The Christian Brothers (1859), p. 119.

31. Reading Book for Use in Female Schools, pp. 314-5.

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AN ASSESSMENT OF REV. PROFESSOR TIMOTHY J.CORCORAN'S MAJOR WORKS IN THE FIELD OF IRISH EDUCATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

James G. Deegan

Throughout a career connected with educational endeavour Reverend Professor Timothy J. Corcoran, S.J. the first Professor of the Theory and Practice of Education in University College, Dublin, was particularly attracted to the study of the history of education. To date, Corcoran's major works in the field have only been reviewed in obituary and essay form. In this paper, I intend to assess the significance of Corcoran's major works in the field of Irish educational historiography. So far as this theme is concerned the following three works will be dealt with: Studies in the History of Classical Education, Irish and Continental: 1500-1700; State Policy in Irish Education: 1536-1816 and Education Systems in Ireland: 1539-1816.

While studying at Saint John's College, Louvain, during the interval 1901-1904, Corcoran became aware of the contribution that had been made by Irish scholars working abroad in the past. As a result of this experience, Corcoran began to view Irish history with respect to its European and Catholic links. Corcoran's first major work in the field of the history of classical education reflected this formative experience at Louvain.

The research and investigation of Corcoran's D.Litt. thesis, Studies in the History of Classical Education, Irish and Continental, 1500-1700,[1] was made possible by the discovery in 1907 of a complete copy of the Irish Janua Linguarum, i.e. a new method of learning languages, applied in the first place to Latin, but equally applicable to other ancient and modern langauges. The Irish *Janua Linguarum* or 'Gate of Languages' was originally issued in 1611 at Salamanca by William Bathe S.J., and other members of the Jesuit College there. This was a lucky discovery in view of the undisputed claim made by Hervas in 1700 that only two copies of the original text were known to exist. Corcoran used this copy to make a comparative study between the Irish *Janua* and Comenius' *Janua Linguarum Resereta,* issued at Leipzig in 1613.

In his treatise, Corcoran set himself the task of proving that the well-known work of Comenius is but a variant on the Irish *Janua* which preceded it by twenty years. Corcoran maintained that Comenius' work was considered by several scholars of note in the seventeenth century to be 'distinctly inferior, alike in construction and in style to the earlier work on which Irishmen alone contributed'.[2]

Corcoran's treatise appeared within a short time of M.W. Keatinge's *The Great Didactic of John Amos Comenius*. Keatinge had earlier dismissed Bathe's *Janua* as being of little educational value. His criticism of Bathe's *Janua* ran as follows:

> From this work (Bathe's *Janua*), therefore, Comenius borrowed nothing but its name, the Gate of Language, and indeed, his own attempt showed so much originality that it would be unfair to hint that he was indebted to his predecessors for the chief points in its construction. 3

In October, 1912 a reviewer for *The Oxford Magazine* admitted that Corcoran's treatise 'breaks a lance'[4] with that of Keatinge's. The fact that Corcoran had access to Bathe's *Janua* whereas Keatinge did not have this advantage, made Corcoran's treatise very attractive. The success of Corcoran's work can be seen in the considerable acclaim his work attracted at the time of its publication. In May, 1912, the Senate of the National University of Ireland accepted Corcoran's thesis as 'a piece of original investigation qualifying the author for the degree of D. Litt'.[5] The report drafted for the Senate by Dr. M.E. Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds gave Corcoran's thesis the following commendation:

> Father Corcoran has thrown new light upon the history of William Bathe, S.J., an educational pioneer of Irish birth. His elucidation of the connection between the work of William Bathe and his colleagues and that of Comenius is of high historical value and will be taken into account by all future students of the seventeenth century. [6]

The following international educational and literary journals published reviews of his book: The Times, The Spectator, The Guardian, The Classical Review, The School World and The Journal of Education. Such critical notices as 'full of learning'[7] and 'deserving the careful attention of all educational reformers',[8] welcomed the appearance of Corcoran's work. Perhaps The Journal of Education provides the most judicious understanding of Corcoran's success. Its review ran as follows:

> We do not think the author has succeeded in dethroning Comenius from his established position as a great educational reformer; but he has proved to the hilt his indebtedness to forerunners in the reform of language teaching and vindicated for Bathe something more than a note of a paragraph in future histories of education.[9]

"As an exponent of historical method in accordance with the best modern practice"[10] Corcoran published State Policy in Irish Education A.D. 1536-1816, Exemplified in Documents for Lectures to Postgraduate Classes, with an Introduction[11] in 1916. This book contains ninety-two documents from varied sources "which illustrate the progression or retrogression, as well as the fashion, of Irish education from age to age and these are followed by longer documents of high educational interest".[12] In the preface to the book, Corcoran explained to his readers that the work was

> primarily intended for use with students: but it may perhaps prove of some help to other readers. The purpose of the Introduction is to suggest the examination of certain issues in the History of Education in Ireland and in other countries. By express design, therefore, the Documents dealt with therein are not dealt with exhaustively. The indexes too, are planned so as to aid in the use of the Documents, but not to permit students to dispense themselves from personal work on the texts.13

In his recent review of Corcoran's educational historiography Titley overlooks this significant prefatory note. According to Titley, "Corcoran was more a compiler of documents than a historian".[14] As a consequence, Titley falls into the pitfall of making an invidious comparison between the pioneer work of Corcoran and the reflective historiography of more recent educational historians. Corcoran's compilation of documents made its appearance at a time when educational historians needed a stimulating publication of this nature. Indeed, Corcoran's book preceded by almost thirty years a similar treatment of Ireland's political development as exemplified in documentary source material. In 1943 Gwynn commenting on this gap in Irish political historiography wrote that:

> There has been no single volume in which teacher or student could find, in convenient form and critically edited, the chief documents that throw light upon the development of Irish political history. 15

By this time Irish educational historians were reaping the rewards of Corcoran's collection of documentary source material. This development is evidenced by the appearance in the late 'thirties and early 'forties of the work of Dowling, Brenan and O'Connell, all former students of Corcoran.

In 1928, twelve years after the publication of his first book in the field of the history of education in Ireland, Corcoran published Education Systems in Ireland from the close of the Middle Ages, Selected Texts with Introduction.[16] His earlier work in the field provided the basis for this more restricted effort. Once again the purpose of the book was stated in a prefactory note. As earlier mentioned, the publication of Corcoran's first major work as a text for academic use and exercise was commendable, but the later work must be greeted with much less approval. Its chief weakness lies in the fact that it relies heavily on repetition from his first book on the history of education in Ireland. Furthermore, the earlier book has stood the test of time with greater success. It is more commonly used today as a reference book in educational historiography than the later publication.

Another weakness in Corcoran's book, Education Systems in Ireland from the Close of the Middle Ages, can be seen in his total reliance on traveller's tales as a means of documenting the quality and availability of popular education in Ireland during the period 1764-1818. Corcoran based his argument on the cumulative testimony of fourteen travel writers in order to prove that a widespread appreciation of education existed on a popular level and was financed by the people themselves. Towards this end, Corcoran selected extracts from unreliable accounts of social and economic conditions in Ireland in the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Included in this selection was: Reed's Rambles Through Ireland (1815); Bowden's Tour Through Ireland (1719); Twiss' A Tour in Ireland (1775) and Corr's The Stranger in Ireland (1805).

Corcoran should have been aware of how unreliable the works of travel writers were as authentic source material for the scientific study of the history of education. These travel books were given a hostile reception when they were originally published more than a century before Corcoran's writings on the hedge schools appeared. In 1806, The New Annual Register wrote that Carr "has chosen in too many instances the secondary praise of being a judicious bookmaker to the original merit of being a good author".[17] In 1836, the Irish paper. The Dublin Penny Journal derided Carr's The Stranger in Ireland as Carr's "touri fication".[18]

However, it is not Corcoran's use of traveller's tales *per se* that is most objectionable but rather his misuse of the information to corroborate his argument. There is significant evidence available to suggest that Corcoran falsified the documentary source material which he selected from Carr's book. Two examples will serve to illustrate the manner in which Corcoran tampered with Carr's original text. The first example shows how skilful Corcoran was as an editor of documentary material. This instance concerns Corcoran's reference to Carr's description of life in the hedge schools. Carr's original text read as follows:

> The instruction of the common people is in the lowest state of degradation. In the summer a wretched uncharactered itinerant derives a scanty and precarious existence by wandering from a parish to a parish, and opening a school in some ditch covered with heath and furze, to which the inhabitants send their children to be instructed by the miserable breadless being who is nearly as ignorant as themselves; and in the winter these pedagogue peddlars go from door to door offering their services, and pick up just sufficient to prevent themselves from perishing by famine. 19

When culling the above passage Corcoran failed to include the significant phrase "nearly as ignorant as themselves". This omission deprives Carr's original writing on the hedge schools of its full significance. The second example shows Corcoran employing a more subtle form of harnessing original source material to suit his own purpose. In this example, Corcoran deprived the following extract of its contextual significance by failing to quote his source in full. Corcoran cited the following:

> A Sunday with the peasantry of Ireland is not unlike the same day in France. After the hours of devotion, a spirit of gaiety shines upon every hour, the bagpipe is heard, and every foot is in motion. 20

Corcoran did not include the next paragraph which indicated that no sooner was the bagpipe heard and every foot in motion than

> ... many droll things are said, many engagements of friendships are made, and many heads are broken as the power of whisky develops itself. 21

As Carr's comments were not in line with Corcoran's attempts to highlight the admirable qualities of the hedge schools, they were duly bowdlerised.

Corcoran's critics have cast a further criticism on the book in question. They have viewed his last major publication in the field of the history of education in Ireland in the overall context of Corcoran's failure to produce a major synthesis of Irish educational history. However, it is not as the historian who failed to write this synthesis that Corcoran should be remembered but rather as one of those historians who through their own research and investigation made its eventual writing possible. Auchmuty, the author of the first synthesis of this kind, was aware of his debt to his predecessors in the field. In the preface to his book entitled Irish Education: A Historical Survey, Auchmuty acknowledges his indebtedness "to those scholars whose research in special fields has provided much of the material for this work". Corcoran's role in this connection is confirmed by Auchmuty's use of apposite excerpts from *State Policy in Irish Education*. Herein lies the lasting significance of Corcoran's major works in the field of Irish educational historiography. Corcoran will be remembered by the many who, not necessarily sharing his views, were inspired by the pioneer work he left behind him. Through his own writings and the writings of his students, Corcoran remained a source of inspiration for an entire generation of Irish educational historians.

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ST. DOMINIC'S - THE RISE AND FALL OF A TRAINING COLLEGE 1907 - 1924

Finbarr O'Driscoll

The Reports of the Temporary Inspectors (1901-2) for Dominican Convent, Eccles Street state that "the staff is adequate in number and possesses satisfactory qualifications"[1] while the same reports for St. Mary's University College, Muckross Park deemed that "the teaching was painstaking and generally successful; in some classes it is excellent."[2] Yet on a closer examination of the report for Eccles Street Convent, one finds that none of the sisters teaching there possessed any teaching qualifications. Their years of teaching experience was their qualification and the inspectors appeared quite happy with this arrangement. Where St.Mary's University College was concerned one nun, Sr. Gonzales Stone, had a B.A. qualification from the Royal University and taught English with distinction to her pupils. The situation had improved somewhat by 1903 with many of the nuns acquiring certificates of qualification from the South Kensington Science and Art Board in its subject areas. Others still had obtained qualifications in the teaching of science from the Technical Board for Ireland. Most, if not all, of these qualifications had been obtained by attending summer courses designed for that purpose. The majority of the teaching staffs of the two convents opted for the qualifications in science related subjects presumably because of the convenience factor. The older members of the communities most likely felt that it was too late to begin studying for a degree qualification and took the science-related option. This entailed that the teaching

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of arts subjects was almost entirely in the hands of extern teachers. With the exception of modern language teaching, principally German and French, highly qualified extern teachers taught the arts in the two convent schools. The term "Resident in France" for 2 or 3 or 5 years was adequate qualification for the teaching of French. Similarly with Italian and German. Being a native of any of these countries and having a good command of the English language was acceptable also. Two such nuns were Sr. M. Columba Freckmann of Eccles Street convent who was born and educated in Hanover and resided in France for three years, and Mother Albertus Hochburgher of St. Mary's University College, who was a native of Munich. Extern teachers availed of this opportunity to spend a number of years on the continent studying languages quite often on the encouragement of the various teaching Orders. As a student Professor Mary Macken of University College, Dublin had been encouraged to go abroad for language study by Sister Eucharia of Loreto College, Stephen's Green in 1896. She describes Sister Eucharia's efforts as being like "so many of the Women Teaching Orders who have contacts everywhere with the Continent, an expert in finding suitable centres in Germany, France or Italy for students otherwise hard put to it to arrive."[3]

However, in terms of teaching qualifications a succinct difference existed between the B.A. degree and the various certificates of the South Kensington Science and Art Board and the Technical Board for Ireland. All of those qualified to teach science related subjects were acknowledged as being so qualified by the respective Board while those with a B.A. degree were not acknowledged in the same way. The degree, in itself, was considered to be a certificate of teaching ability. Only one reference is made in all of the inspectors' reports on the Dominican schools to any teacher, lay or religious, having acquired the Diploma in Teaching of the Royal University. This diploma could only be conferred on graduates of Arts. The governing body of the college realised that their Diploma in Teaching was only "a fair substitute"[4] until a better system was adopted. The Dale and Stephens Report of 1905 warned of the dangers of jumping to conclusions as to what constituted the best form of training for secondary teachers here in Ireland. They were convinced that the constantly referred to systems employed in Germany and England were still at an early stage, especially that of England, and that any proposals for reform could be advantageously considered in detail, only if the special conditions of intermediate education in Ireland were borne in mind. It was their opinion that "years must pass before conclusions as to the best methods of training teachers are reached."[5] A high standard of scholarship was regarded as a condition precedent to professional training. The Association of Secondary and University Teachers whose Plea for Reform[6] preceeded the Dale and Stephen's Report by one year, had stipulated graduation in Arts as a necessary condition for entry into a teacher-training course. In fact, many other aspects and recommendations of the latter report bear a remarkable similarity to those of the former. They both nominated elements of Mental and Moral Science as related to education, along with the Theory and History of Education as central aspects of the curriculum from a study point of view. On the practical side the observation of skilled teachers at work and the giving of lessons under criticism were considered useful and helpful items to the student in college. A probationary period in an efficient school was also recommended whereby the student's work would be constantly supervised, thus enabling him to avoid "crude mistakes" when starting out on his career. This item, it was felt, would require considerable organizing and

> ... the ease with which provision of this kind may be made by co-operation between Universities or University Colleges and the schools situated in their neighbourhood, or by instituting theoretical courses for senior students in large secondary schools, is manifest from the extraordinary rapidity with which during the last five or six years training of this kind has been provided in a dozen English centres. 8

One such centre was the Cambridge Training College. It had acted upon the recommendations of James Bryce, principal of the Belfast Academy, made to the Schools Enquiry Committee in 1868 wherein he recommended that teachers should receive a philosophical training. This training he felt ought to be given in a university. Cambridge's response meant that in the following ten years, 283 students would go through the college of which 86 would have a prior university training. Once students completed the one-year course and passed the examination they received the Cambridge Teacher's Certificate. Some Irish women availed themselves of the opportunity to acquire this qualification and among them were future members of the Dominican nuns' communities in Dublin. The contemplative nature of their vocation precluded them from leaving the convent once they had entered, and therefore, any such teaching qualification had to be acquired prior to entry. The Cabra Annals for 1899 relate to the following:

> To secure the ablest teachers and the most approved methods, some members of the Community took out their diplomas for teaching, both in theory and practice, in the Cambridge University, and went through a complete course of training in Bedford College, London, whilst others fitted themselves for work by a prolonged residence on the Continent. 9

To qualify for entry to Cambridge Irish women students had to obtain, in the senior grade examination of the

Intermediate Board for Ireland, a pass with honours in (i) a Modern language, (ii) the English group, (iii) Latin, and (iv) a pass in Mathematics, or in (i) and (ii) the same, with (iii) a pass with honours in Mathematics, and (iv) a pass in Latin. From 1909 onwards a pass in the Matriculation examination of the new National University was added to the list of entrance qualifications. The senior grade option was also maintained. Bedford College, London, a Catholic training college, provided a full course in teacher training in conjunction with the Universities of London and Cambridge. The entry requirement for this college was a pass in the "first University Examination in Arts of the Royal University of Ireland."[10] The course in Bedford College began in the month of January and lasted thirty-one weeks. Whereas the year at Cambridge was devoted primarily to theory and practice the corresponding year at Bedford seemed to put great emphasis on practical work. From the theory point of view, the content of the two courses was similar, if not identical. On the question of teaching practice the syllabus relates that "Arrangements have been made with several schools of different grades under various managements by which students have Practice in Teaching many subjects and many classes, and are thus enabled to develop their own powers and special aptitudes."[11]

Despite the advantages afforded to Irishwomen in English training colleges and the excellent training available there, the community in the Dominican Convent, Eccles Street felt that trainee teachers could "... scarcely have found themselves in an environment congenial to their religious or national feelings, or in all respects suited to their educational needs."[12] The community had been considering plans to rectify the situation for a number of years now and had been aware of the training college founded in Waterford by the Ursuline Sisters in 1898 for the training of female secondary teachers. This college was affiliated to the Cambridge Syndicate and was founded six months after the introduction of the Diploma in Teaching course was made available by the Royal University. It was 1907, however, before the Dominican nuns were finally spurred into action on the question of providing professional training for girls intent on pursuing a teaching career. In that year Alexandra College opened a training department for secondary teachers in conjunction with Trinity College, as a result of which students received a diploma in teaching similar to that given by the Royal University. The nuns feared that "if Catholic girls had no similar institution they might have an excuse for seeking admission to the Protestant College."[13] This they could not allow to happen. It was decided to provide a training college for Catholic female students on the premises at Eccles Street. Enquiries were made at Cambridge regarding the possibility of such a college being recognised as a training centre for teachers by the Teachers' Training Syndicate.[14] Oscar Browning, M.A., Secretary of the Syndicate, informed the college that an inspection of the premises was essential before any decision could be given. The fee for inspection was £10. 0s. 0d. In the case of Catholic Training Colleges, the Syndicate desired to hear from the Bishop that recognition was in accordance with his wishes. Archbishop Walsh did approve and informed the Mother Prioress "that your application for recognition has my fullest sanction."[15] The Archbishop's approval had not been sought until November 1907. The nuns were aware that approval might not be forthcoming from Cambridge on the grounds that there were insufficient numbers of primary classes as practising schools in the convent, and so they sought to know whether in that event it would be possible to secure admission for their students to classes in the immediate neighbourhood. King's Inn Street or Gardiner Street were suggested as fulfilling all the conditions, provided the consent of the nuns there could be obtained. Going on the presumption that Dr. Walsh would approve, the letter suggested that he might perhaps influence the nuns concerned to welcome the idea. The Dominican community in Eccles Street had informed the Archbishop that this project did not involve sending girls to Cambridge and that "it was in order to give Irish girls who are being attracted to Cambridge an equal opportunity here that the proposal was considered."[16] All studies would be pursued in Eccles Street with examinations being held there also. Cambridge would be referred to only for its certificate. The nuns sought recognition only on condition that it was in accordance with Dr. Walsh's wishes. Once this primary condition had been fulfilled five further secondary conditions then required fulfilling. These were concerned with:

(1) The adequacy of the entrance examination to see whether it is required by them.

(2) The adequacy of the Teaching given at the Training College in the Theory, History and Practice of Education.

(3) The adequacy of the practical Training as given by the Master or Mistress of Method.

(4) The adequacy of the Practising Schools.

(5) Security that the training is continued for a whole year. 17

Once these were met the project could function properly. The sisters at this time were also considering entering their students for the Diploma in Teaching of the Royal University. They intended to use the B.A. degree of the same university as their standard for entry although exceptions would be made in special cases. This was to enable those nuns who did not have a university degree, through no fault of their own, to pursue such a course of training if they so desired.

The nuns set about drafting their prospectus, and submitted it to Archbishop Walsh, who appeared taken aback by the argumentative tone "running through a good deal of the paper, giving it somewhat of a combative character."[18] The Dominican nuns appeared to have been outlining reasons as to why they were more entitled to a training college than their counterparts, the Ursulines. This kind of comparison was not to the Archbishop's liking. One month after reading the first draft of the prospectus, Dr. Walsh received a revised draft of which he said: "I think it very much improved."[19] He then went on to make alterations in the wording, discuss points that were not clear, suggest an explanatory addition to one aspect in the prospectus and, finally, put forward an excuse for his expected lack of involvement with the project. He stated that "the special work that I shall in all probability have to do in connection with the starting of the new University will put a burden upon me, the pressure of which I do not care to contemplate."[20]

The Syndicate nominated Mr. T. Headen, Senior Inspector of National Schools, to inspect the proposed training college preparatory to recognition. In order for the certificate of approval to be given the college had to be organised and at work, and the sisters proposed to begin in the autumn of 1908. The nuns had suggested to Dr. Walsh that ladies and gentlemen prominent in Catholic educational work should form a committee to be associated with the training college, with the Archbishop himself as patron or president. They forwarded a copy of the Cavendish Square College prospectus to indicate what was meant. They wished to have a large number of past pupils upon the committee. They hoped to make the course of a direct practical character. Dr. Walsh dismissed the idea of having such a committee running the training college, irrespective of whether he, himself, was involved or not. He did not suggest how it should be run but one gets the impression that he did not want too many lay people involved in its running. The new project was advertised in the newspapers in May and the general public informed that the Dominican nuns were about to open a training college for Catholic women as professional teachers. The object of the college was to give "Professional Training to women - religious and secular - who are desirous of adopting teaching as a profession."[21] It was pointed out also that because of its location in Dublin, along with opportunities both for training and for practice in teaching, and the advantages to be derived from courses of lectures by distinguished university Fellows and professors, the college was offering very special opportunities and advantages to those women who sought such a training. Furthermore the Dominican nuns were of the belief that if Irish education was to be fruitful "... it must be inspired by the Irish spirit consonant with Irish traditions and directed especially to Irish needs."[22] Ample opportunities would be provided for the students to associate with Irish Societies in Dublin. Special attention would be paid to the method of teaching Irish with the college keeping in close touch with the most modern theories relating to that branch of pedagogies. Constant communication with native Irish speakers was deemed essential for promoting the Irish cause. All in all, the advertisement painted a bright future for Catholic women students intending to follow the teaching profession with the Dominican nuns in Eccles Street. A letter of 13 March, 1909, confirmed that the training department of Dominican Convent, Eccles Street had been placed upon the list of training colleges recognised by the Syndicate.[23] Miss Agnes Moore, a former student who obtained the Cambridge Teacher's Certificate and had considerable experience in an unnamed Catholic Training College, was appointed principal of the department. Her salary amounted to £100 per annum. Miss Maribel Pye, B.A., a former exhibitioner of St. Mary's University College and also a Cambridge Diplomee, was appointed as assistant to Miss Moore. She resigned her post prior to the opening of the college in order to accept an appointment as Junior Female Inspector under the National Board for Education. She was succeeded by Miss Colly whose salary was fixed at £80 per annum. The lady principal and her assistant lectured each day on History of Education and Methodology, and other areas required by the syllabus. Among the other subjects of the curriculum were the Theory of Education (including Psychology, Logic, and Ethics in relation to educational work), School Hygiene, Elocution, Drill, Blackboard Drawing and School Organisation. Mr. Magennis, the lecturer in Psychology received 10 shillings per lecture once a week while Mrs. Burke received 7 shillings and 6 pence per lecture for Elocution. Miss Dickinson received £1 per week for two hours instruction in Swedish Drill and Voice Production. Sr. M. Evangelist gave lectures on Blackboard Drill. The students who were required to furnish references prior to being accepted into the college, engaged in two hours practical work daily, Saturday excepted, from 12.30 to 2.30 p.m. During the year each student was required to give a number of practical lessons. The notes and lessons were carefully supervised and criticised. Each student in turn gave a public lesson which was followed by discussion and criticism. All of the staff and students had to attend the public criticism sessions. The college authorities also made provision for observing teachers at work and of studying details of school work and management. Occasional visits to schools other than those in which the practical was done was envisaged. The training course consisted of one year of three terms lasting from October to June. The fees which were £60 per annum for resident students or £20 per annum with an option of three term payments of £7 each for day students were payable in advance. Special courses of lectures on Religion would be given in the college, with particular attention being paid to methods of catechetical instruction in the schools. Provision for practical work was made in the following classes, which were attended by upwards of 400 pupils in total - Under-graduate classes of St. Mary's University College, the science classes under the Department of Technical Instruction, Dominican College, and elementary classes of girls and boys, Dominican College. The classes which were sought for in the two neighbouring convents were not needed after all. It would appear that Dr. Walsh did not give his approval to the idea anyway.

In that year fifteen students studied for the examinations of the Syndicate. The records provide one with some details on twelve of these students. One was a Dominican nun, Sr. Benevenuta, who had obtained honours in the 1st Arts examination of the Royal University in 1906. Five of the students were of 2nd Arts standing and two had a B.A. degree qualification. Two of the students were members of the Sisters of Mercy Order from Loughrea in County Galway. These two nuns, Sisters M. Aidan and M. Jerome were taking two years for training and were preparing for matriculation that first year in St. Dominic's. In July 1908 the Loughrea nuns had sought admittance to the training course for some members of its community. This request was made through Dr. Walsh. Permission was granted on condition that they did not form part of the community in Eccles Street and live in the convent proper.[24]

Between 1909 and 1921 more than one hundred students obtained their teaching diplomas in the college. In 1910, of the ten students who presented themselves at the examinations, one obtained first class in the Theory, History and Practice of Education with distinction. Six were awarded second class in the same examination; two third class. There were three distinctions in Practical Efficiency. St. Dominic's was the only Catholic women's college in the United Kingdom that obtained a first class. Between 1909 and 1919 four distinctions of the first class were obtained by students of the college in Theory and Practice of Education. Eleven distinctions were awarded in the same area. However, from 1915 onwards the majority of students took the Higher Diploma in Education of the National University for which attendance at the lectures in University College Dublin was necessary. This meant that the Dominican nuns were debarred from obtaining that qualification. In 1914 a rule was made in University College relating to the Higher Diploma, whereby courses could be provided in recognised colleges which would not necessitate attendance at the University College.[25] Only two colleges, both Jesuit, namely Clongowes and Belvedere took up this offer. An official supervisor was appointed to take charge of the courses. Professor Corcoran of University College, Dublin would visit these colleges from time to time during the year to see that everything was in order and also to give lectures to the students. Due to the close proximity of Dominican College, Eccles Street to Belvedere College the possibility of Professor Corcoran giving lectures in St. Dominic's was investigated. The outcome resulted in Professor Corcoran being granted permission for his lectures to count for St. Dominic's as well as for Belvedere College. He pointed out, in a letter to the Mother Prioress, that this arrangement did not lessen the validity of the lectures in Eccles Street even on subject matter treated by himself.[26] Having outlined "the Catholic alternative list of books"[27] which included the works of Fenelon, Vives, Newman, da Feltre and Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth,[28] he informed the Mother Prioress that Vives and Newman were on his own programme. Even though he intended dealing with the other three during the course, he hoped that Sr. Benevenuta and Katherine Duffy would treat of them during their French and English lectures respectively. These common lectures, it was hoped, would be of benefit to the students of both colleges. As St. Dominic's was not a recognised college of the National University, the Higher Diploma students there were not exempt from attendance at University College. Fr. Corcoran's lectures were designed to benefit all the students whether they intended sitting for the Cambridge Teacher's Certificate or for the Higher Diploma in Education.

St. Dominic's Training College, it would appear, continued to function until 1925 or thereabouts. There are different opinions as to when it ceased to function as a training college with the last reference being made to it in 1924 in the Eccles Street Annals. There it is mentioned that the students of the college held a debate on "Cardinal Newman as Educationist."[29] It had set out to provide a professional training course for female trainee teachers who would otherwise have gone to Cambridge. It did not deter some women students from going to Cambridge, however. In 1910 the names of nine women students from Dublin appear on the teacher training results sheet of Cambridge University.[30] Along with that women graduates who intended sitting for the Higher Diploma in Education examinations had to attend lectures in University College. From 1918 onwards some students of St. Dominic's took this option. This entailed attending University College as well as St. Dominic's. They continued to hope that their college would eventually be accepted as a recognised college of the National University of Ireland and also as a separate women's training college along the same lines as Cirton or Newnham at Cambridge. Without such a concession the Dominican nuns and other Orders bound by strict laws of enclosure were confined to obtaining the Cambridge Teacher's Certificate.

It would appear, however, that some Orders of nuns were anxious to have their members study in University College. Pressure was brought to bear on Professor Corcoran, S.J., Head of the Education Department to consider the issue at least and in 1914 he obliged by drafting a memorandum entitled "On the Powers of the National University relative to Degrees for Teaching Congregations of Nuns."[31] In this document he outlined the rules relating to extern students taking degrees wherein it was made quite clear that attendance at approved lectures and courses was an essential requirement. The idea of providing special diplomas, which would never be the equivalent of a degree, for extern students wishing to study privately, did not appeal to him. Neither was the recognised college plan an acceptable alternative in his opinion. Nevertheless, he was prepared to make whatever alterations were necessary within the rules to enable nuns to study for degrees in the university buildings at Earlsfort Terrace. Fr. Corcoran saw no objection in having a separate lecture arrangement for women within the College, as such an arrangement could be brought about "entirely within the College by internal administration alone, and without recourse to the Senate."[32] The Dominican nuns continued to press for the status of a recognised college for St. Dominic's subject to the approval of Archbishop Byrne. It was intended to provide the same type of course, both practical and theoretical, as was in operation in University College. This information was revealed in a reply to the Bishops' circular of October 1921 which had referred to the question of training nuns as teachers.[33] The reply also made it clear that the Dominican nuns would be prepared to cater once again for members of other religious orders should the Bishops so desire. It was all in vain. St. Dominic's never achieved the status it sought. Even though its stay was short this venture by the Dominican nuns into a new aspect of their educational apostolate was a reasonably successful one. Their contribution to improving the status of the female teacher was of great significance at a time when diplomas in teaching were few and far between.

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ONE APPROACH TO MORAL EDUCATION FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES

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This paper explains the "moral negotiation" approach to moral education. This approach was the basis for a recently completed National Endowment for the Humanities Project at The Ohio State University. The Project, entitled "Moral Negotiations as Moral Education: Rational Resolution of Moral Disagreements" began in the spring of 1980 and concluded in the summer of 1982. The Moral Negotiation approach is based on the theoretical work in normative ethics of Professor Bernard Rosen of the Department of Philosophy, Ohio State University. Rosen, co-principal investigator in the Project, developed a set of techniques intended to maximize the chances of rational adjudication of public moral disagreements. The project was an application of Rosen's work to (1) inservice teacher education in the area of moral education, and (2) development of moral education curricular materials to be incorporated in the existing English and Social Studies curricula in secondary schools. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to an explanation of this approach to moral education.

Perspective on the MN Approach

It may well seem presumptious to suggest that one has something useful to say about resolving rationally value/moral disagreements and further that secondary school students can become proficient at this difficult task. Most educators would probably agree that we should provide students with the intellectual skills necessary to resolve rationally those disagreements which can be so resolved, although many are likely to believe such disagreements limited to those we term "verbal disputes" and "factual disputes". In the case of moral/value disagreements, as we all know, there are questions not only about how such disagreements might be rationally resolved but also about whether such resolution is possible.

These questions are not made less perplexing by talk of the "fact-value dichotomy" or "is-ought dichtomy" or "naturalistic fallacy". Most of us learned as undergraduates that an "ought" conclusion does not follow from "is" premises alone. We know now that the supposed fallacy is a subject of lively debate among philosophers, but it will be avoided here. It will be avoided not because it is unimportant but because here it will be argued that much can be done in rationally resolving moral disagreements whether one accepts or rejects the fact/value dichotomy.

In Rosen's theoretical work he does not, of course, leave this philosophical question untouched. An avowed pragmatist, he clearly rejects the fact/value dichotomy. Yet it seems that, and Rosen agrees, the use of his method of moral negotiation does not necessitate that we accept his particular philosophical position.[1] Indeed it seems that this is a major strength of the method: we can find a major contribution which normative ethics can make to resolve moral disagreements even though theoretical issues in ethics remain unresolved. The question facing moral educators is not what ethics could offer if all the theoretical issues were resolved, but what can be done in the meantime. Rosen's method of moral negotiation is held to offer a way of maximizing the chances of moving from disagreement on value matters to agreement on the basis of factual inquiry.

It is important to note here that we are not talking about how a value/obligation proposition is to be "verified" or "justified" or "warranted". In the discussion here the MN method is treated simply as an approach which encourages and facilitates the process of moving from a value/obligation disagreement to seek agreement both about what is being disputed and about how that dispute might be resolved. There is no intent to suggest that agreement, no matter how widespread, constitutes either verification or justification.

To seek agreement is a much less ambitious undertaking than is showing how a value claim is properly verified or justified or warranted. "Proof" or "certainty" or "demonstration" is not required for the resolution of at least some value disagreements. In value disputes we may be unable to "prove" that an action is correct or right or obligatory, and yet though we may initially disagree we can often, through disciplined reason, come to agree.

The goal of moral negotiation is not "agreement at any cost". The concern is with rational agreement, which although less than proof or verification or justification is more than irrational persuasion, sophistical reasoning, etc. Let us turn now to a simplified, perhaps oversimplified, overview of the method of moral negotiation.

The Method of Moral Negotiation

Moral negotiation is a method for dealing with moral/value conflicts by allowing the capture of those conflicts in the form of two complex conditional statements. The consequence of each of the conditional statements contains one of the conflicting moral/value judgments. The antecedent of each contains the reasons which persons hold or provide in support of the consequent. Conditional or hypothetical agreement has been reached when all parties to the dispute agree that both of the conditional statements are true, i.e., that the statements comprising the antecedent of each conditional statement, if true, would be sufficient to warrant the consequent of that statement. In those cases in which it is possible to demonstrate the truth of one of the antecedents, the rational grounds are provided for unconditional as well as conditional agreement.[2]

Let us assume that two students or two groups of students, A and B, disagree about whether some action X is morally permissible. A says that it is, B says it is not. Once the disagreement is recognized and made explicit, the method of moral negotiation calls for the discussion to move immediately from the disagreement to the reasons which persons give or hold for each of the moral positions. Each reason becomes a part of an antecedent in a complex conditional statement, e.g.

A: If: (reason$_1$, and
reason$_2$, and
reason$_3$, and
reason$_4$) and

THEN: (X is morally permissible)

B: If: (reason$_5$, and
reason$_6$, and
reason$_7$, and
reason$_8$, and
reason$_9$)

THEN: (X is not morally permissible)

Any number of reasons may be given for each consequent. In many cases, reasons for one consequent will be denials of reasons given for the other consequent. The truth or warrant of the reasons is not judged at this point in the process. Persons may believe that reasons are not true or warranted and yet agree that if the reasons were true, they would justify the moral position. Thus by expanding the reasons given for A's position we should be able to get B to agree with the conditional even though she/he disagrees with both the statements comprising the antecedent (the reasons) and the consequent (the moral or value judgment). To agree with the conditional A, B's agreement is only that _if_ the statements in the antecedent were true (and she/he probably thinks they are not), they would be sufficient to warrant the consequent. And by expanding the antecedent in B's conditional we should be able to get A to agree with that conditional. This is conditional agreement: both parties agree that both conditional statements can be accepted, even though each party probably believes that both the reasons (the antecedent) and the moral judgment (the consequent) of the other are unwarranted.

Our assumption in the MN project was that when students use this approach and arrive at conditional agreement, a great deal has been accomplished even though there remains disagreement about the moral judgment. The focus of the disagreement has moved from the moral consequents to the reasons which are held to support those consequents. In many cases, if not in most, there will be factual reasons which are claimed to support one of the consequents with the denial of those same reasons held to support the opposing consequent.

Once conditional agreement has been reached in the classroom the teacher may encourage students to examine the warrant of the antecedents. Are the statements in either antecedent true or warranted? If one antecedent can be shown to be true, then conditions have been provided for a move from conditional to unconditional agreement. That is, the conditional agreement is agreement with two conditional statements which have contradictory moral consequents:

A: If p, then q B: If r, then not q

Hence, if it can be shown that "p" is true, "q" follows. Or if "r" can be shown to be true, "not q" follows. In short, following conditional agreement, an attempt may be made to affirm one of the antecedents. If an antecedent is affirmed, the result is an argument of the form modus ponens. If the two consequents are contradictions, and if either of the antecedents are affirmed, the basis is provided for unconditional agreement.[3] In practice, of course, this procedure encounters many difficulties, a few of which will be discussed later. The intent here is only to give a simple overview of the approach.

If the foregoing explanation makes the moral negotiation approach sound complicated, the fault is awkwardness of expression rather than a feature of the approach. Moral negotiation simply extends and organizes further a decision-making process often used in everyday affairs. Imagine a colleague who is considering leaving University X to accept a position at University Y. To help make a decision, he lists in one column reasons for staying at X and in a second column reasons for accepting the position at Y. Our colleague could be viewed as having conflicting consequents--I ought to take the position at Y/I ought not to take that position. The list of reasons can be seen as the antecedents for the conflicting consequents. Some reasons for each course of action may be known facts ("the salary is higher at Y"); some may be empirical possibilities or predictions ("salary increases are likely to be greater at X"); some may be normative claims (there is a moral obligation to remain at X to complete an on-going project). How these various kinds of reasons are to be dealt with will be discussed in the section which follows. At this point the intent is simply to show that the outline of the method of moral negotiation is strikingly similar to a decision process commonly used.

An Extended Example of Moral Negotiation

The first step for the teacher is that of helping students identify an area of value disagreement. In the NEH Project the issues were generally those raised in the established curriculum. In a U.S. History class, for example, student disagreement as to whether it was morally permissible for the U.S. government to relocate Japanese-Americans during World War II or whether the U.S. ought to have dropped the atom bomb might become topics for MN discussions. In literature classes most selections read raise value issues which invite discussion, i.e., if a class has read Julius Caesar, they may disagree about whether political assassination is ever warranted. Other value disputes arise in the everyday life of the school, e.g., is a particular school rule justified? Is it morally permissible to require students to attend school?

For the discussion here, let us assume that students want to discuss an issue from the last category. Suppose we have a school in which students are concerned about an educational issue being discussed in the community: the question of the moral permissibility of the use of corporal punishment by teachers and/or administrators. Following the identification of the disagreement, the two conflicting value judgments would be identified. (It is generally possible, and when possible desirable, to state these judgments as contradictories rather than as contraries.) Given our example, the conflicting judgments could be:

A. Is it morally permissible to use corporal punishment in schools, and

B. It is not morally permissible to use corporal punishment in schools.

A and B are contradictories, since one must be true and the other false. In the case of contraries, of course, although both cannot be true, both can be false.

Once the contradictory judgments are identified, they become the consequents of two conditional statements, i.e.

A. If (   ), then it is morally permissible to use corporal punishment in the schools.

B. If (   ), then it is not morally permissible to use corporal punishment in the schools.

The process now moves to the task of identifying those reasons held to support each judgment. The reasons given for a judgment, no matter the number, will comprise the antecedent of that judgment. In this "reason-giving" or "reason-identifying" or "reason-finding" step, the truth or warrant of the various reasons is not at issue. The task is not to give an exhaustive list of all possible reasons, but to give a list that captures the plausible reasons offered by students (plus any reasons which the teacher might wish to suggest even if overlooked by students).

Reasons given are likely to include several different sorts of claims. Some are likely to be themselves normative claims, some factual claims that we know or can determine to be true or false, and some may be empirical predictions. There is no set number or ideal number of reasons. The goal at this point is simply to identify reasons for the antecedent of each conditional until each antecedent would be regarded by all parties, if it were true, to be sufficient to warrant its consequent. This judgment of sufficiency does not entail agreement with either the reasons which constitute the antecedent or with the judgment expressed in the consequent. The judgment of sufficiency is simply the judgment that if the statements comprising the antecedent were held to be true/warranted, then the judgment in the consequent would be warranted. One may be firmly convinced that the statements in the antecedent are false and that the judgment in the consequent is unwarranted and yet agree with the total conditional. The point is that in this step the goal is to bring about a reasoned conditional or hypothetical agreement on both of the conditionals.

At this point in the process students have identified and displayed the reasons they hold for their judgments. In some cases the teacher may want to stop at this point. Students' reasons have been elicited, and even though they continue to disagree as to whether the reasons are warranted, the focus is now on the warrant of reasons rather than on the simple fact of value disagreement. In other cases teachers will want to attempt to move the process toward unconditional agreement.[4]

The teacher might begin by first helping students identify those reasons in each antecedent which are themselves moral or value claims. One question to ask about such claims is whether they are simply restatements of the consequent and are hence dispensible, e.g., "If it is my duty to do X, then I ought to do X." A second question is to ask whether the normative claim in the antecedent can be reasonably viewed as the consequent to yet another conditional which has a factual antecedent. This is, we begin with a conditional such as:

If p (normative) , then q (normative)

Through questioning we may find that "p" is a consequent of an additional conditional which has a factual antecedent:

If x (factual) , then p (normative)

We now, by conditional chain, have

If x (factual) , then p (normative)
If p (normative , then q (normative)
If x (factual) , then q (normative)

We now have, in effect, found a factual antecedent to replace the original normative antecedent. This process can be continued with other normative statements in the antecedent. There is, of course, the possibility of indefinite if not infinite regress--one may always give as the antecedent a normative rather than a factual reason--but this often does not happen. There is also the possibility that no additional reasons will be offered, that one may assert that the normative reason requires no further justification. If this occurs, the teacher has two options. The one is to turn to questions of ethical theory in an attempt at resolution. The other is to continue the "sifting and sorting process" without resolving this question.

Let us assume for the moment that the teacher has either found empirical antecedents for normative statements in the antecedents or that although such antecedents have not been found, students are convinced that the normative reasons are not by themselves sufficient to warrant the consequent. If this is the case, discussion can turn to other reasons in the antecedents.

Another step is to check if the reasons given in each conditional can be reduced in number. There may be some factual reasons which persons can demonstrate to be false. And there may be, on occasion, factual antecedents which do not seem capable of being construed as rational reasons even if they are true, i.e, they do not seem to be relevant to the conclusion, e.g., "if Columbus discovered America, then corporal punishment is morally permissible." If the reasons are reduced in number, the teacher might check to see if the reduction has destroyed the conditional agreement. (If conditional agreement no longer exists, the earlier process of bringing about such agreement can be used again). But let us assume here that the reduction of reasons is not sufficient to destroy conditional agreement, i.e., with reduced reasons, we still have agreement on the two condtional statements.

A next step is to consider the possibility that in one or both of the antecedents there are sub-sets of statements which are believed to be sufficient for the consequent. Suppose that the agreed upon conditionals are the following:

Position #1	Position #2
If (a and b and c and d), then x	If (e and f and g and h), then not x

Now all that conditional agreement has shown is that if we believed all of the statements in the antecedents to be true/warranted, then we would also hold the consequent to be warranted. The question now is whether there are sub-sets of the statements comprising the antecedent which are accepted as sufficient for the consequent. Thus, for example, it may be agreed that Position #1 could be warranted without all of the antecedent statements being true or warranted, e.g. it could be agreed that, in addition to the original conditional agreement,

(1) If (a · b · d), then X, and
(2) If (a · c · d), then X, and
(3) If (b · c · d), then X

And in terms of Position #2, it might be agreed that, in addition to the original conditional agreement,

(1) If (f · g · h), then not X, and
(2) If (e · f · g), then not X, and
(3) If (e · g · h), then not X

Now if such agreement is reached, it provides for each conditional more than one route to affirming the antecedent, and hence, more than on possible route in seeking to bring about unconditional agreement.[5]

There are two possible additonal guides suggested by the search for sub-sets. One guide is to ask how the reasons given in the antecedent of one conditional are related to the reasons given in the antecedent of the other conditional. It is typically the case that some of the reasons in the one conditional will contradict reasons in the other conditional, e.g., a reason given to support the use of corporal punishment might well be that it motivates students to try harder to succeed at school tasks while a reason given to reject the moral permissibility of corporal punishment in the schools might be a denial that corporal punishment motivates students. To identify such a contradiction would seem to identify an important factual claim which, if verified or disconfirmed, would go far in resolving the moral dispute.

A second guide emerges, or may emerge, for the search for sub-sets of reasons which are believed to be sufficient for the proposed consequents. In our example, the three sub-sets of reasons which were held to be sufficient for the consequent "X" were:

(1) $(a \cdot b \cdot d)$
(2) $(a \cdot c \cdot d)$
(3) $(b \cdot c \cdot d)$

And the three sub-sets which were held to be sufficient for the consequent "not X" were:

(1) $(f \cdot g \cdot h)$
(2) $(e \cdot f \cdot g)$
(3) $(e \cdot g \cdot h)$

Now there are at least two things which could be concluded from this. First, any reason which was originally given but which is (a) not a member of a sub-set believed to be sufficient for one of the consequents, and (b) not itself believed to be sufficient for one of the consequents, and

(c) not a contradiction of a reason given for the opposing consequent, is not then a promising candidate for verification/disconfirmation in order to resolve the particular dispute.

Another conclusion which can be reached based on our sub-sets is that certain reasons given are not held to be necessary for the consequent. In the case of consequent "X", reasons (a) and (b) and (c) are not held necessary for X, since in the case of each they are absent in sub-sets which are held sufficient for X. And in the case of consequent "not X", the same can be said of (e) and (f) and (h). Given this, it might be suspected that (d) in the first group of sub-sets and (g) in the second group of sub-sets, since they occur in each sub-set in their appropriate group, may well be held as necessary conditions. Now in a sense if this is suspected it may move us back to the original discussion, but it also provides us with the possibility of a quicker resolution. For the position arguing for consequent "X", it could now be asked:

> If it turns out that (d) is false, is it the case that x will also be false?

And for those who argue for the consequent "not x", it can be asked:

> If it turns out that (g) is false, is it the case that not x will also be false?

In short, we now have the classical disconfirmation pattern. An affirmative answer to either of these questions will show that the reason in question is not simply one which combined with others is held sufficient for the consequent, but rather that holding this reason is necessary for the consequent--and hence the falsity of this reason is sufficient for rejecting the consequent.

But this paper has gone on far too long to make some simple points. Rosen's work shows us how we can, in most cases, arrive at conditional agreement on value disagreements. Conditional agreement is a major step in the rational resolution of value disputes. In many cases the skilful teacher can teach students to move beyond conditional agreement and in some cases to reach unconditional agreement.

NOTES

1. The method of moral negotiation is theory-dependent in the sense that it does rule out those ethical theories which place moral judgments outside the realm of reason, e.g., complete relativism.

2. We might notice that these conditional statements are somewhat different from many we encounter. There are conditionals which are "analytic", that is, the relationship between the antecedent and the consequent is a logical one, the antecedent being logically sufficient for the consequent, e.g., if X is a triangle, then X has three sides. Other conditionals are empirical, with the antecedent held to be empirically sufficient for the consequent, e.g., if one throws a lighted match on spilled gasoline, then the gasoline will ignite. In the conditionals discussed here, however, the relationship between the antecedent and the consequent is neither one of logical necessity nor one of demonstrable empirical facts. Yet people do agree that the kind of conditionals discussed here are true. The nature of the relationahip between the antecedent and consequent of these conditionals is, of course, an interesting philosophical puzzle.

3. The world doesn't work quite this smoothly. In an actual debate it is likely that the "losing party" would not immediately agree, but would rather want to return and modify the conditionals.

4. Most of Rosen's work focuses on bringing about conditional agreement. The material which follows is more of an extension than an application.

5. There is something peculiar about such sub-sets when we are dealing with a public debate. All parties to the dispute may agree with the sub-sets, but it may also be the case that each sub-set represents the reasons given by a particular group, i.e. the sub-sets may represent sub-sets of reasons held to be sufficient by all, or they may represent sub-sets of persons who hold the reasons stated in the sub-sets.

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LANGUAGE MANIPULATION: DOUBLESPEAK IN EDUCATION

Richard Pratte

Introduction

Almost a decade has passed since the American National Council of Teachers of English commissioned a volume on Language and Public Policy,[1] and six years have passed since the Council's second book on language abuse, Teaching About Doublespeak,[2] appeared. The perspective offered in the first work was designed to enlighten teachers, especially teachers of English, regarding the employment of "doublespeak" as found in such areas as the military, government, politics, and commercial advertising. Thus whereas the first book alerted the teaching profession generally and English teachers in particular to categories of language manipulation, the latter work focused on classroom exercises, bent on alerting students to "irresponsible" uses of language.

It is worth noting that the first work focused on the general point that language is manipulated and how communication in general can be manipulated. This was the basis for the repeated claim found in both books that "doublespeak" is a form of language manipulation, and its study and ferreting out in argument and discussion will free us from a "tyranny of words", empowering us to improve the quality of our discourse and thought.

Unfortunately, any assumed improvement of discourse and thought rests mightily on obtaining an answer to the prior question: What is language manipulation? That is, although we are given numerous examples of language manipulation, we are never told what constitutes an analysis of language manipulation so that we may see it at work outside the pages of the forementioned works. Moreover, although "doublespeak" is examined in many different contexts and categories, we are never given an answer to the question, "Why is doublespeak a manipulation device of language?" Hence, the purpose of this effort is twofold: to briefly examine the nature of language manipulation, and to make the point that doublespeak, a particular form of language manipulation, is not only confined to such institutions as the military, government, politics, and the mass media: formal education, schooling, also is implicated. That is, in contradictory and often unintended or non-deliberate fashion, teachers employ doublespeak to manipulate their students' behavior. I hope to show that formal education, an arena purposely set aside for studying language and, especially, language manipulation--propaganda analysis, techniques of persuasion, etc.,--is not itself immune in this regard.

Language Manipulation and Doublespeak

What things count as language manipulation? Let us step back to ask a more general question: What is language manipulation? Or, more precisely, what must be true to say that somebody is engaging in language manipulation? To avoid the lengthy task of ourselves establishing a set of conditions, it is helpful to assume the defensibility of an analysis that has some currency in the literature. As a result of developing an analysis of manipulation, Kasten[3] answers as follows: manipulation takes place when there is a difference in kind[4] between what a person intends to do (X) and what he actually does (Y), when the difference between X and Y is traceable to another person. That is, if there is a difference in kind between what one intends to do (X) and what one actually does (Y), and if this difference is traceable to another person, the one has been manipulated by that person.[5]

The two conditions just stated for manipulation, unfortunately, are not sharp enough for the concept of language manipulation. If, however, we take the phrase "is traceable to another person" and reword it as follows: "is traceable to another person's use of language" then we have the conditions for language manipulation. What is suggested here is that language manipulation occurs when there is a difference in kind between what one intends to do (X) and what one actually does (Y), when that difference is traceable to another person's use of language (in such a way that the victim may be said to be misled). These conditions, in other words, are held to be individual, necessary and jointly sufficient for marking off language manipulation.

'Doublespeak' is an umbrella term--a terminological convenience, a device of the understanding--suggesting an Orwellian connotation, particularly useful in examining manipulative techniques in political propaganda, rhetoric, the media, semantics, etc. (It is worth remarking that doublespeak is not to be associated with "double-talk". The latter phrase refers to someone speaking in terms not strictly germane to the issue, perhaps intentionally or unintentionally.)

Although it is important to teach students about the pitfalls of accepting and employing doublespeak, what is badly needed is a way of distinguishing what it is about doublespeak that makes it a form of language manipulation. I am primarily interested in it as a form of manipulation by the use of language. Let us see how this works.

Language manipulation embodies no restriction as to te method whereby someone attempts to bring about a discrepancy between the intended and actual achievements of the manipulated. Even rational methods of persuasion are not ruled out in this sense. Hence language manipulation embodies no restriction as to the method employed to achieve intended results. One may lie to another to manipulate, as in the case of the man bent on sexual conquest. The lie, "I love you," is employed to bring about a discrepancy between the intended loving sexual embrace (X) and the actual sexual conquest devoid of love (Y). A difference in kind, we would agree, as when we say, "I was duped; if I had only known he didn't love me. It would have made a world of difference"--a difference in kind.

Language manipulation, however, is not restricted to lying. There are language manipulations involving statements which overlook facts, evade facts, and distort facts.[6] Moreover, we may employ fallacies of relevance and ambiguity as methods of language manipulation.[7]

What is distinctive about doublespeak as a method of language manipulation is that we sometimes use a special kind of language, as seen in the following. An interesting, and horrifying, insight into doublespeak and its manipulative function can be derived from a look at the terminology used by the Nazis in their program of racial genocide. Historians have searched in vain for the document in which Hitler gave the order to kill the Jews. The most telling bit of evidence is a memo in which there is no reference to killing or extermination of the Jews. Rather, one reads of the "final solution", "complete solution", "special measures", "cleansing", "executive measures", and so on. Moreover, the official language designated the places where the "final solution" was to be carried out as "family camps" or "work camps". In effect, the Nazis never officially spoke of a systematic racial genocide or extermination of the Jews.

What was the reasoning behind this "doublespeak"? First, we see that there was no reference to the extermination of over six million Jews. This ploy allowed the Nazi bureaucrats to go about carrying out the "final solution" without acknowledging what they were doing. Commonly, most people feel badly about killing another human being, even if, in some cases, it is justified. But one can go about the business of the "final solution" (X) without acknowledging that racial genocide (Y) is actually taking place. Such language use allows the manipulation of actions by disguising or concealing the actual result, where the difference between X and Y is a difference in kind, at least in the minds of most people.

Focusing on America's Watergate also is illustrative of doublespeak's manipulation function. Doublespeak, for those engaged in the Watergate "coverup", is to the tongue what novacain is to the gums. For "breaking and entering", "intelligance gathering operations" was proffered; for "burglars", "plumbers" was substituted; For Nixon's involvement in tampering with the tapes, "White House telephone anomalies" was substituted; for "defaming and injuring the reputation of other politicians", substitute "dirty tricks", and so on. The list seems endless, but all are employed to perform the same function: to manipulate other persons or groups.

As suggested earlier, any linguistic device or method may serve to manipulate another person; there are no restrictions. The particular method of "doublespeak" employed in the two preceding examples (Nazis and Watergate) suggests a particular method: the use of euphemism,[8] the employment of renaming in order to hide unpleasant connotation. A euphemism is any agreeable or less offensive expression that we substitute for one we find offensive. We see this clearly when talking about death. Commonly we resort to such euphemisms as "He passed on", "She departed this life", "They went to their reward", and so on.

Closely related to the euphemism is another linguistic method, special pleading.[9] As in the case of euphemism, we imply that our labeling correctly describes reality, when in fact it merely reflects our prejudical point of view. When we engage in special pleading, we attempt to place ourselves in a favorable light and place others in an unfavorable light. In other words, we apply a double standard: one for ourselves and another for others. Put differently, special pleading involves being partial (to oneself) and inconsistent insofar as it is to regard one's own situation as privileged while failing to apply to others the standard we set for ourselves. For example, we engage in special pleading when we speak of ourselves as "overweight" but others are "fat"; we are "patriots" while our enemies are "terrorists"; or our enemies "surrendered" while we accepted a "cease fire".

Obviously, the use of euphemism and special pleading may result in manipulation. What is worth noticing in the case of Watergate cover-up is that a burglary, a crime, was committed, and those alleged responsible for the crime were asked to justify their actions. Instead of giving a justification for the break in, they chose to employ euphemisms to justify breaking the law. The burglary became "intelligence gathering", "a security measure", and so on. Special pleading was engaged in by referring to the accusations as "White House horror stories", suggesting that the allegations were akin to old wives' tales of haunted graveyards. Criticism was thus blunted by the use of language suggesting it is nonsense to fear the allegations made about those involved. Similarly, calling the agreement to break into the

Watergate Democratic quarters "an agreement to go out and develop additional information" (Y) was to suggest some sort of search for knowledge commonly engaged in rather than a clandestine, illegal search(X). Finally, the use of "signed off on", a mechanistic behavior, rather than "approval" of the break in, made the person in charge appear less responsible for the project.

The use of euphemism and special pleading tended to suggest an aura of justification and respectability to legally dubious actions. Unethical and illegal conduct was dressed up by doublespeak. However, doublespeak, as language manipulation, cannot justify a crime since it undercuts, is at odds with, what a justification demands: honesty and truth. Doublespeak cannot justify our actions unless, of course, we allow our gullibility to take charge.

Doublespeak in Education

In what immediately follows I shall present in somewhat truncated fashion what I consider to be some specific examples of doublespeak in education. My listing is not exhaustive, nor is it meant to be. Moreover, it is not an expose in the sense of bringing to awareness something hitherto unnoticed. Rather I merely wish to point out that language manipulation does occur in education and there is an ironic incongruity between the school as a site for examining language manipulation and as a site for its cultivated and widespread use.

One tactic used to control students is school confinement. Students, instead of being suspended from school and allowed to roam about the community at will, are required to attend school but are restricted to one room all day long, even while eating lunch, and are not allowed to study or talk during the school day.

The key to understanding the above is to grasp that the situation is euphemistically labeled "in-house suspension". A discrepancy is set up between what students intend doing (attending school) and what they are actually doing (confinement akin to that of felons in prison). The use of "in-house suspension" glosses over the unpalatable truth that some students are no longer functioning as students but are serving, for a short period of time, something like a jail sentence.

A similar situation has to do with the removal of a student from class by sending him to the "time out room". The euphemism is part of a systematic method teachers learn to control the behavior of students who either interfere with their own education or with the education of others. In this exercise of doublespeak, as in the previous example, the student intends to take "time out" from the daily activity but is actually placed in isolation. The "time out room" is simply another term for isolation, but with more neutral connotations. Thus, there is an exchange of the negative connotation of "isolation" for the more neutral "time out room".

Social control in education often takes the form of discipline. Although the tactics vary considerably, unpleasant connotations are avoided by the use of doublespeak. The elaborate system of school rules and sanctions are replete with terms like "classroom management" (classroom discipline); "assertive teaching" (teacher control); "discipline" (punishment); "eighth period special class" (detention); and "misbehavior" (unacceptable behavior).

Although the use of punishment is a form of teacher power, it is sometimes disguised, probably because a blatant exercise of punishment is seen as systematic oppression. For example, where school policy expressly forbade punishment, the director of a highly acclaimed high school marching band in central Ohio told a student, "Go make some spirit" instead of saying, "Go march the penalty drill". In this case, the erring bandsman was punished for making a mistake in the previous evening "show". Actually, the penalty drill is a very demanding marching pattern totally exhausting anyone having to execute it. Doublespeak was employed to suggest "a making of spirit" when in reality the punishment's purpose is quite the opposite: a deflating of spirit.

As well, the exercise of control over students may lead to conflict. The wish to avoid conflict in schools, whether for practical reasons in a class of thirty-five. or for psychological reasons of a more personal nature, may take the form of a softening of the admonition, "Pay attention" to "Get on task". "On task" is a euphemism for "pay attention", altered to reflect the fact that children are expected to work at their own pace rather than listen in a group to the teacher. Thus, "Dick and Mike, let's get back on task", means "Sit down", or "Quiet down", or "Do what you're supposed to be doing".

I have associated doublespeak in education with euphemism and special pleading, suggesting that teacher control is an overriding factor in its employment. But that is only part of the story, and too great a simplification. Teachers are part of a bureaucracy, and one important behavioral element of a bureaucray is "objectivity" or "expertise" in performance. Teachers and school administrators often justify their actions by a remarkable organization that stresses hierarchy, the division of labor, specialized knowledge, and intensive professional preparation. Part of being a professional is having a specialized language, and it is this last element that assures the professional aspect of teaching and helps guarantee the status of teachers. Thus when teachers talk of "exit expectations" or "terminal expectation", these label what a student is supposed to know at the end of a lesson, program or grade. Similarly, "healthy interface" refers to a good working relationship between parent and teacher or teacher and student.

This brings us to the use of the term "unprofessional". Although it is not necessarily the case, it is common for administrators and teachers to label a disliked state of affairs "unprofessional". Commonly this term casts a less judgmental bias over the state of affairs and suggests a more objective, balanced view than might actually be the case.

Similarly for most teachers some "free time" is provided during the school day. This usually consists of a period during which the teacher is not assigned a class. The fact is some teachers commonly use the non-scheduled period for planning or for conferences with parents; others use it to unwind and relax. However, the notion of "free time" may suggest that teachers have nothing to do. It is common thus to call"free time" a "planning" or "conference" period. In this way teachers do have some free time but employ it in a "professional" manner.

Moreover, "teacher burnout" is a metaphorical way of talking about teachers who have lost their enthusiasm, drive and self-confidence resulting, commonly, in a rather ineffective, non-motivated teaching style. It is hard to feel sympathy for a teacher who has lost the zest to teach and communicate with students, but sympathy can be invoked for a teacher who is "burned out". A "teacher burnout" is perhaps deserving of our sympathy and understanding; but an ineffective teacher is worthy of a low evaluation and, possibly, dismissal.

In a consideration of curriculum, certain studies are labelled "foundational". If something is called "foundational" rather than "required", then a standard that requires no justification is established in favor of these studies. That which is foundational is justified; required studies, however, may be in need of justification. A discrepancy is set up between what students intend to do (study an indispensable course) and what they actually do (study the required course).

Any consideration of teaching leads to the fact that teachers are expected to make judgments about students: evaluation is a fact of life for both teacher and student. There presently exists an elaborate system of doublespeak to avoid unpleasant connotations associated with testing and examinations. Instead of talk about these, teachers speak of "writing exercises", "a meeting of minds", "progress reports", "quizzes","a sharing of information" and "knowledge production".

Similarly, in making judgments about students, teachers are aware of the problem of labeling. Today even the most uninformed parent knows that the labeling of young children's reading groups with names like "Robins", "Bluebirds", and "Cardinals" rather than "superior", "average", and "below average" is an attempt to hide or mask the real situation. Reading ability is not glossed over, but status associated with reading level is given an egalitarian character by the use of euphemistic labels.

Moreover, those responsible for the teaching of children with handicaps--itself a somewhat biased term--employ a wide range of euphemisms to avoid terms with unpleasant connotations. Traditionally society has marked children who are mentally retarded, hard of hearing, deaf, speech impaired, visually impaired, and emotionally disturbed with quite harmful labels. We are all well aware of these. It is evident that the phrase "special education" delimits a wide range of handicapped students; "exceptional children" is used to describe students with the forementioned handicaps as well as those who are highly gifted; "*mainstreaming*" *is a metaphorical use* suggesting that those children who have mild handicaps are entitled to an education in the "least restrictive environment". Translated, this means that some handicapped students are to be integrated into the regular classroom for portions of their educational program. Thus "special classes", once a euphemism for slow students, is replaced by "least restrictive environment".

Another euphemistic way of talking about student learning problems is the phrase "learning disabled". This doublespeak allows teachers and administrators to address a large number of learning problems, some properly and others improperly identified, in a mechanistic way analogous to the automobile mechanic who speaks of a "transmission problem" that is disabling. Or, put differently, the way a medical doctor speaks of a disease, say, cancer, that is disabling. Teachers thus intend to investigate and correct a mechanistic problem but what they are actually doing is making a great many assumptions, some of which are, if not contradictory or opposed to a mechanistic approach, at least not accounted for in purely or wholely mechanistic terms.

Similarly, "behavior modification" in teaching suggests a mechanistic device for changing student behavior, thus avoiding the negative connotation suggested by "conditioning". Teachers can engage in "behavior modification" without feeling that they are employing methods found to be successful in shaping animal behavior.

Another way of describing a situation in which teachers are portrayed as operating objectively and professionally is the use of "miscue analysis" in the teaching of reading. This method alerts the teacher to simple mechanistic problems such as substitution, omission, etc., somewhat easily diagnosed. A "reading error", on the other hand, may prove to be more formidable, not so easily corrected, and may have a negative connotation. Teachers intend to correct students' "miscues" but what teachers actually are doing is correcting students' "errors".

Finally, "maladaptive behavioral mechanism" suggests a way of labelling that avoids unpleasant connotations associated with student activities such as "drug abuse", "cheating", "stealing", and the like. Thus teachers and administrators speak of the "maladaptive behavior" of students all the while skirting the issue of their "anti-social behavior" and its consequences for society.

In Conclusion

One further point is in order. Teaching, like other forms of communication, presupposes trust. While it is not necessary that teachers be liked or loved by students, those who could not be trusted to mean what they say would most likely find it impossible to continue teaching. The constant use of doublespeak, as a means of controlling the teacher-learner paradigm, would threaten the possibility not only of the student achieving understanding or autonomy but of teaching much of anything. In other words, student manipulation by the use of doublespeak may lead either to submission or rebellion, but in either case it will hinder the goal of student understanding and autonomy.

Given such dangers to pedagogical values, not to mention the wrongs done to students by manipulation itself, doublespeak in education is to be condemned on the whole and to be avoided in responsible teaching. Since most of us would long ago have given at least verbal assent to this simple conclusion, it seems necessary to conclude by saying that a sensitivity to doublespeak in education is a first step in "moralizing" the nature of the teacher-learner paradigm, and it is crucial in making it possible for teachers to abandon, mitigate, or counteract doublespeak in the large society, whether it is intentional or unintentional. Yet critical as this process is for pedagogical morality, it seems doctrinaire to judge that it could be taken into account successfully. Indeed, given the sad state of teacher preparation, of teaching no longer attracting the "best and the brightest", given the general gullibility of students and the fallibility of "experienced" teachers (not to mention the great stresses placed on teachers to control apathetic, hostile, or even dangerous students), a number of lessons in the employment of doublespeak in education may only serve to render the serious student more circumspect about the morality of teachers, but may exhibit a declining marginal utility for students basically hostile to the schooling enterprise.

There is, then, work for the teacher in this area. But, no matter how he or she may clear the air or devise ways of examining doublespeak, the generic problem is one which, at the end of the day, the teacher has to tackle. One must confront the problem that given that it is desirable to deal with students who consent to the teacher-controlled teaching-learning paradigm, the brute facts of the situation are that we are much too ignorant of doublespeak in education and the many way of teaching merely encourage the learning and following of doublespeak.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Language and Public Policy*, ed. Hugh Rank. (Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1974).

2. *Teaching about Doublespeak*, ed. Daniel Dieterich. (Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1976).

3. Vance Kasten, "Manipulation and Teaching". *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1980.

4. A "difference in kind" in ordinary language is vague, but what it suggests here is the ruling out of changes that occur in one's experience when one is doing what one is actually aware of doing. In short, a "difference in kind" suggests that the victim of manipulation is misled away from the actual achievement (Y).

5. I wish to emphasize that not all manipulation is of the negative sort in terms of undesired or non-valued results. Commonly people are manipulated in order to achieve highly desired results. For example, students may be manipulated to learn to read better. In this instance, both the students and the teacher may be said to benefit: the students by acquiring better reading skills and the teacher in terms of being well thought of by administrators and other teachers. Perhaps this suggests the notion of *benign* manipulation, and it stands behind many of our relationships.

6. See, for example, S. Morris Engel's *With Good Reason*. (New York: St. Martin's press, 1976).

7. The fallacies of relevance include such language methods as appealing to our bigotry, gullibility, sympathy, modesty, vanity, sense of ignorance, and of fear. These appeals do not necessarily entail language manipulation, but they are commonly employed to manipulate others.

8. The euphemism or the art of renaming is a fundamental use of language. It is, perhaps, a human weakness to rename things and states of affairs in order to enhance or protect a case in which one's own interest is involved. But we ought not be complacent about the use of euphemism to manipulate others.

9. We should be alert to the method of special pleading since it establishes an exception to well-grounded general rules. For instance, recently the mayor of Columbus, Ohio was in an early morning car accident, which he admitted was his fault. Although he had been drinking, he claimed there was no impropriety in this instance because at the time he was merely "inspecting the city". Here the question surely arises whether the mayor was inconsistent in not applying the general rule to his own case: whether his making an exception of his city's vehicular laws is special pleading and thereby fallacious. By gaining a special exemption from the law, he was attempting to manipulate others.

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SOME CURRICULAR ASPECTS OF SOCIAL AND CIVIC EDUCATION IN IRELAND, 1966-1984

Mairtín Fahy

Few societies exist which do not in some manner attempt to adapt the formal process of education to the socio-civic preparation of young people. Official policy statements and educational practices emphasise this dimension of schooling. However, great diversity of opinion exists as to the most appropriate methods of bringing the ideal to fruition. The area ranges across a wide continuum of philosophical viewpoints and instructional strategies and is linked to the value systems of communities, norms of political behaviour and the extent of societal change.

This paper sets out to delineate some of the most salient curricular emphases associated with the social and civic formation of Irish pupils. The first section will focus on the period between 1922 and 1966. Section two will concentrate on the formal introduction of civics to second level schools in 1966. Section three will outline and examine a successful and promising local initiative, the Social and Health Education Programme of Ógra Chorcaí.

It may seem surprising that the State did not institute from its inception special programmes in education for citizenship aimed at developing and strengthening its role and identity in the minds of its citizens. The social dimensions and objectives of the educational process, however, were pursued through the extrinsic contributions of school subjects such as Irish history, An Ghaeilge, religious education and geography. An important aspect of the curricular policy of the Irish government between 1922 and 1935[1] was the emphasis placed on the role of the school as a major agency through which the transmission of a gaelic cultural heritage could be effected. This policy of cultural and linguistic socialisation found firm expression in the new programmes for primary and secondary schools and was fashioned, to a large extent by opinions and proposals outlined prior to 1922. It is not surprising, then, that the reorientation of the primary school curriculum "in accordance with Irish ideals and conditions", represented the major curriculum thrust in the post 1922 phase of educational development.[2]

The nexus between history teaching and the development of citizenship in pupils has been an enduring curricular theme since 1922. The 1922 conference report, for example, made explicit reference to the development of civic attitudes during the course of history classes and it recommended that specific lessons on citizenship should feature in the sixth and higher grades of primary school.[3] The reports of the Council of Education on the primary and secondary school curricula, in 1954 and 1960, respectively maintained that history teaching would facilitate the development of effective citizenship qualities in pupils. These reports maintained that while the training of pupils to assume their place in human society was essentially religious and moral, next to religion, history exerted the most powerful influence in the creation and fostering of civic virtues. The Council rejected representations made to it, that the formal teaching of civics should feature in the school curricula. Rather, it recommended that civics "be taught incidentally in the course of religious instruction, language teaching, history, nature study and other subjects which lend themselves to the introduction of questions of citizenship".[4]

The social role of the educational system also received specific attention in the report of a parliamentary committee of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress in 1925 and in Memorandum V.40 of the Department of Education, Technical Instruction Branch in 1942. The former document recommended that a formal course in citizenship education should be provided for all pupils and it contained the assertion that democracy will have failed if it did not develop the active participation by all citizens in the life of the state.[5] Memorandum V.40, in addressing itself to 'social education' per se noted the close association of this aspect of continuation education with religious instruction and it contended that the adoption of a new Constitution had produced a situation within which young people had a creative role to play in forming a new social order instead of being moulded and fitted for the future by the very nature of life around them.[6] This departmental document, in keeping with the curricular emphases evident in earlier proposals, noted that the Irish language possessed excellent potential as an instrument of social education.[7] Significantly, Memorandum V.40 made no reference to history teaching and a recurring theme in the Congress reports of the Irish Vocational Education Association in later years was the discussion of resolutions urging the inclusion of history in the course of study provided by every vocational school.[8]

Thus far then, the attainment of the social goals of the official school programmes was deemed to be the responsibility of all subjects and particular attention was devoted to the contribution of religious education, Irish history and An Ghaeilge. In general, the concept of development embodied in these proposals was of a conservative nature and centred on the transmission of an established cultural heritage and social order to young people. This emphasis was in harmony with the prevailing modes of thought and might be explained partially by reference to what Akenson describes as the "cultural implosion" in Ireland during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s.[9] It is argued that in this period, cultural, religious, political and economic factors combined to make Ireland shrink increasingly from interchange with the outside world and that in terms of a social philosophy this era was characterised by a process of retrenchment.[10] In 1958, Rev. Dr. Seán Ó Catháin, S.J., referred to the absence of debate and criticism of the educational system in the 1950s and he pointed out that:

> What is basically wrong with education in this country is that enough people, teachers and parents alike, will not sit down and ask themselves some simple questions about our schools, questions beginning with why? and what? and how? and try to work out the answers. [11]

The formal introduction of a civics programme in other systems of education has often been precipitated not by the development of educational philosophy but by political and social needs within communities. In the United States, for example, the flood of immigrants created the need for courses which would impart a basic appreciation of the American political system, its public aspirations and the role of the citizen.[12] In Austria, which had ceased to exist between 1938 and 1945, civics was introduced after the war with the explicit intention of convincing pupils of the viability of their separate state. In the mid 1930s in Britain, the rise of extreme rightwing politics resulted in the development of a movement aimed at imbueing young people with liberal democratic principles.[13] In retrospect, the formal introduction of civics in Ireland emerged not from any pressing national crisis but as a response to a European political need. In the late 1950s and early 1960s both the E.E.C. and the Council of Europe were seeking to establish economic, social, educational and political structures, directed at so uniting the diverse nations of Europe that the threats of another war would never become a reality. The Council of Europe between 1963 and 1969 commissioned an extensive set of studies on the socio-civic role of the educational system and it assisted many national organisations in the promotion of a European civic consciousness among young people.

In 1964, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, adopted a very significant resolution on Civics and European Education, which emphasised the need for the inclusion on all school curricula of an area of study to develop an awareness of European problems and facts.[14] It seems as if the introduction of civics in 1966 represented the major vehicle for putting this resolution into effect in the Irish context. This European connection is further strengthened by the fact that the Irish Branch of the European Associaton of Teachers, in conjunction with the Department of Education, prepared Irish teachers for the introduction of the new subject.

The protagonistic role of modern Irish governments, as was evidenced by the publication of economic plans of the late 1950s greatly assisted the development of an increased awareness of the socio-civic role of the educational process. Additionally, the significant and extensive structural reorganisation of the post-primary sector in the 1960s focussed attention on the curricular needs of an expanding school population and the demands which a changing political, social and economic milieu made on the schools. While the need to develop formal and explicit programmes of social and civic education may not have featured in policy statements and proposals, the climate of change and movement facilitated the introduction of civics.

In the Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools 1967-1968, it is clearly stated that the introduction of civics was intended not to replace any other subject in the school's programme but rather it was to "serve as the complement of all".[15] Although civics was to be obligatory for one class period per week, significantly, it was not to be an examination subject. It was accorded this status with the positive aim of encouraging experimental teaching methods, project work, and study outside the confines of the classroom. This publication, "phrased in the high moral tones of the nineteenth century"[16] recommended two special and primary objectives for civics. These objectives, which in the opinion of one political scientist, were suggestive of a conservative attachment to the status quo,[17] contained inter alia, the assertions that:

> the special object of a course in civics will be ... to inculcate the social and civic virtues generally; to strive to awaken a social consciousness which will lead to the development of a sense of responsibility, ... to help preserve law and order and teach the young citizen to be ready to defend the national territory should the need arise... 18

A significant contrast is evident between the approaches and emphases in the Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools and those outlined in another departmental document Notes on the Teaching of Civics, where the student is regarded not as the "object of indoctrination but as an explorer of his social environment".[19] This latter publication identified an investigative, questioning role for civics and challenged the efficacy of providing pupils with information if significant attempts were not made to develop the skills and motivation necessary for active and creative community participation. The innovative tone of this guide is evident also in proposals regarding the development of a civic spirit within schools and the central synthesising role which civics should play in the educational process. A significant departure from the more traditional role structure of contemporary schools was encouraged by a progressive extension of moral and material responsibility to pupils and the need for school-based representative processes, such as elected student councils.[20] Additionally, it was recommended that pupils should be provided with the widest possible choice of social activities, which should be largely self-governing.

The method of content organisation outlined in the guide is that of an expanding environments approach, with emphasis in successive years on personal, local, regional, national and international topics. The use of a textbook was recommended but not as an essential feature of classroom study. Indeed, the guide warned against over reliance on textbooks in attempting to provide ready-made solutions to civics problems encountered by pupils. Interestingly, also, this document urged the treatment of controversial issues in civics classes, and saw this aspect of the programme as representing a means by which the "dry-bones of the syllabus could be enlivened".[21]

In assessing the development of this new area of study in post-primary schools since 1966 it is obvious that the reality failed to match the enthusiasm and promise which attended its inception. At a seminar on the teaching of civics organised by the Institute of Public Administration in 1971 and attended by almost one hundred civics teachers, a consensus emerged that the subject had failed to develop and the "overall picture was one of fading enthusiasm".[22]

A variety of factors and circumstances seem to have combined to thwart the growth of this subject. While the community reaction initially had been very favourable, little attention was focussed on how civic education should be defined and how it might be related to the needs of contemporary society. The syllabus for 1983-84 is strikingly similar to that outlined in 1966-67 and indicates the extent to which the course content fossilised. Over emphasis on factual information and on teacher "chalk and talk" resulted in the subject failing to develop flexible and experiential teaching methods. Notwithstanding the publication of an excellent monthly magazine Young Citizen by the Institute of Public Administration, civics as a subject suffered from a major deficiency in educational technology. The failure to develop a comprehensive in-service programme of training for teachers and the lack of an adequate support system were responsible also for the demise of this subject. Additionally, the highly competitive and examination-oriented atmosphere in some schools resulted in civics being relegated to a peripheral position and indeed the practice in some cases was for other subject areas to poach the weekly civics period for extra tuition and revision. The Irish report of the IEA Cross National Survey of Civics Education produced clear evidence that in the teaching of civics "the goals are at present extremely unclear ... the methods which are being used to try to attain them are not the most appropriate and the outcomes in the area are at present most disturbing".[23]

As with the American system of education at the beginning of this present century, an increasing array of societal problems and traumatic changes are forcing Irish schools to seek and provide alternate curricula. The Department of Education, for example, considered that 1974 was an opportune time to introduce proposals for a new course in Irish Studies, in view of the fact that

> the striking developments (demographic, social, organisational) that have taken place in Irish second-level education in recent years, and the rapidly changing cultural and economic milieu in which Irish education has to operate have led to a widespread demand for school programmes more obviously related to the new situation and especially for programmes designed for continuous adaptation to changing circumstances. [24]

A plethora of school-based programmes of pastoral care, the Dublin Humanities Project, The Transition Year programme and other initiatives exemplify the curricular responses to this "new situation". The Irish Association for Curriculum Development has directed attention to the urgent need for change and has stimulated fresh thinking in many vital areas.

The Social and Health Education programme of Ógra Chorcaí may be viewed also as representing a major curricular initiative in the process of adapting school experience to the needs of contemporary youth and society. As with some of the other curriculum projects, this programme developed from concern about problems being experienced by young people. These problems, such as high levels of aggression, the dominance of alcohol in social life and increased evidence of illegal drug-taking, were deemed to be symptomatic of underlying lacunae in social relationships, personal behaviour and an inability to benefit from leisure and recreation.[25] In 1974, a broad-based committee initiated two pilot projects with a view to developing a comprehensive programme of experiential learning. Over the past ten years the programme has flourished and the recent Annual General Meeting revealed that in excess of 5,000 15-17 year olds in 56 schools in Cork City and County are participating this year.[26]

The rationale guiding this programme is based on the premise that individuals are capable of taking personal responsibility for the social, emotional, physical, intellectual and spiritual dimensions of their own health and that each person can develop the personal resource characteristics necessary to master the immediate environment. The programme espouses a very positive concept of primary prevention and sets out to equip pupils with the coping skills necessary to deal with diverse aspects of contemporary life such as the lack of a sense of community, the enormous growth of bureaucratic institutions, rising unemployment, and increasing evidence of alienation from national and local political processes. This approach, which draws its theoretical strength from the writings of Cappiello, Swisher, Simon, Hopson and Skally and others,[27] is in harmony with recent recommendations of the Council of Europe in regard to developing educational programmes to cope with drug abuse. The approach of the Social and Health programme of equipping young people to take control of their own lives, and increasing personal competence is perhaps best summed up in the old but still relevant truism "give a man a fish and you feed him for a day - teach him how to fish and you feed him for a lifetime".

In this programme major emphasis is placed, both in training and in the classroom, on a structured experiential learning methodology. A sine qua non of the entire approach is an acceptance that this method is the most appropriate method to use when attention is being focussed on the twin goals of personal growth and social development. The programme concentrates initially on personal understandings and skills and extends gradually to relations with other groups and influences on a local, regional, national and international level.[28] The Rogerian basis of the programme's methodology is evident in four salient ways:

1. The teacher is involved personally in the learning experience and this encompasses his cognitions and feelings.
2. The process of learning is self-initiated.
3. The learning is pervasive.
4. The learning is evaluated by both learner and teacher.[29]

This experiential method uses group work as the primary means of helping pupils develop self-awareness, self-competence and self-reliance. Each unit comprises five stages which are arranged in the form of a complete learning cycle: 1. Experiencing, 2. Sharing, 3. Processing, 4. Generalising, 5. Applying. A wide variety of teaching strategies are employed in each learning unit, such as role-playing, group discussion, mime and student work sheets.

In many respects, this approach to teaching represents a major departure from the more traditional methods and teacher-pupil relationships. Consequently, an extensive in-service training scheme, support facilities, and personnel have grown in tandem with the numerical increases in school, teacher and pupil participation. Trainee facilitators engage in 170 hours of training over two years and the principal aims of this training are the exploration of personal growth and the development of facilitative skills, such as active listening, cooperative learning techniques, leadership styles and group dynamics. Over the ten years the content of the programme has expanded and a comprehensive set of materials are available in 11 areas of personal and social life. In contrast to the summative type evaluation procedures which characterise much pupil learning in second-level schools, the evaluation process in this programme is formative in nature and has resulted in changes and modifications in method and content.

The annual reports and evaluations of this programme provide a valuable and fertile source of information both regarding the factors responsible for its success and the difficulties and problems encountered over the past ten years. An element of critical importance has been the emphasis placed on methodology and involving teachers in the development of new approaches and materials. Teachers using the programme employ a wide range of flexible strategies in facilitating pupil learning. The representative composition of the executive committee has ensured that the programme remains responsive to the needs of schools, teachers and pupils. The themes and items covered in the programmes have proved to be of value and interest to the participants, and successive surveys have indicated a high level of pupil satisfaction with the method and content. The human resource characteristics such as self-confidence and initiative, developed by the programme are important to teachers and pupils alike, a fact confirmed by the major E.S.R.I. surveys of Teachers' and Pupils' Perceptions of the Objectives of Education and of Examinations.[30] However, while in theory most teachers welcome the development of independence and initiative in young people, many often feel threatened by it and may feel frustrated and inadequate. This progamme's success is due in no small part to the fact that it provides an opportunity to channel adolescent uncertainty and need for independence into positive growth and development.

The support service which has grown in Ógra Chorcaí and within different schools means that a teacher participating in the programme does not feel isolated. The support of school principals has also been crucial especially in areas such as flexible timetabling. Additionally, the programme caters to a wide and diverse group of students, encompassing different ability levels, types of schools and social backgrounds. The net result of this aspect of its development is that it is not seen as a pragmatic device for containing "less-able and low status pupils".

This paper has ranged over a wide continuum of approaches and a broad spectrum of time. The three-phased pattern of curricular development delineated seems to mirror that associated with other systems of education. Initial emphasis was placed on school subjects such as history and religious education, followed by the formal introduction of an explicit programme of citizenship which in turn has been rendered obsolete by the broader concept of social education. Examining the socio-civic emphasis of the educational process is akin to examining the values, assumptions and principles of the society which sustains the process. In a conservative society the "good citizen" is often seen as an establishment person _par excellance_ who is supportive of the _status quo_ and who suspects change and development. The social goals of the educational system in such a society tend to aim at conveying facts about the operation of governmental and legislative processes and ensuring that individuals are aware of their duties and responsibilities as citizens. In a society where change and development characterise societal processes and expectations the response of the educational system may be different. The development of powerful new technologies, the multiplication of state agencies and institutions, more social mobility and different relationship styles, more discretionary time and the promotion of new value systems and the re-statement of old ones are characteristics and conditions of contemporary society. These are often perceived as eroding well established certitudes and modes of behaviour. The tension between over-reliance on tradition and the need for change reflects itself in the educational system, perhaps later rather than sooner.

The response of Irish education to a pressing need for programmes and approaches designed to assist young people prepare for living in society in the twenty-first century will involve an examination of the total social context and orientation of the school. This endeavour will focus critical attention on school administration and structures, teacher training practices, in-service training opportunities for teachers, evaluation processes, the concept of recurrent education and the nature of relationships between school and society; between parents and the school, and between teachers and pupils. The large number of objectives, important to the development of the community cannot be pursued operationally within the constraints of any single subject. The quest for relevance must be balanced with due regard to conserving the most valuable aspects of our past. New initiatives must be developed so that our schools in the future will not as a result of educational inertia become so isolated and meaningless that to borrow Waller's phrase they serve only as museums of virtue.[31]

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WHAT USE IS DAY RELEASE?

J. R. McCartney

In September 1982, with the assistance of funds from the Social Science Council, as it then was, the Northern Ireland Council for Educational Research embarked on a study of the value of further education to young employees, who were attending the further education colleges on a day or block release basis or for vocational courses during the evening. The study was concerned to find out what employers and employees hoped to gain from further education and to make some assessment of the extent to which their expectations were being fulfilled. The study also sought to investigate what value day and evening vocational courses had for the colleges.

Thus the question "what's the use of day release?" compels an examination of the three most obvious beneficiaries of day release courses, namely employers, employees and the colleges providing the courses. These three interested parties determined the structure of the study. The fieldwork consisted of:

(i) interview with college principals and lecturers;

(ii) a questionnaire answered by 633 day release students and 178 students studying vocational courses during the evening;

(iii) interviews with employers in 98 public and private enterprises.

Although there has been occasional reference to day release in Northern Ireland in publications concerned education or employment the research team was not aware of any major investigation of its earlier position. On the other hand it has been the subject of considerable scrutiny in Britain, as Evans' review (1980) reveals and it has received attention also in the Republic of Ireland, for example, in Claire Masting's 1977 study.

In the paper we focus on the following questions:

1. What do employers wish to obtain through education and training and why, in particular, do they use further education?
2. What type of education and training do employees want? Why do they want it?
3. What learning takes place in colleges and does it meet the needs of students on day release?

Employers

In the interviews with employers two things are immediately apparent from the evidence. Firstly, day release for employees to colleges of further education cannot be viewed in isolation, but rather must be seen as one element in the overall training of a workforce. A firm may use day release but it could also use in-house training methods, the Industrial Training Boards or external consultancy firms. Secondly, it is clear we are not dealing with a homogeneous group. The size, location and composition of the work force and the type of industry are all factors which shape the firm's perception of training needs and hence its involvement with day or block release. The small building firm in rural Ulster may well require a different service from the satellite of a multinational company in the greater Belfast area, which may have more people in its personnel and training section alone than the small firm has on its entire payroll. The new high technology firms can differ in their demands from those such as construction and shipbuilding, which were in the vanguard of day release in its early days. In our sample we had two firms of comparable size and location but where the average age of the workforce was 22 and 50 respectively. Consequently, one firm stressed the need for innovative training whilst the other stressed the need for refresher training for its workers, who, having been there so long, could easily be bypassed by changes in industrial practices. The colleges can thus be faced with divergent and conflicting demands from the consumer. Industry itself is being radically altered by changing customer demands and this in turn filters through to the providers of training, including the colleges. For instance, many operators in the catering sector have switched their orientation from cordon bleu to 'fast food' techniques inside a few years and this requires a new response. Likewise, many of the firms in the traditional craft sector stated they do not require specialist joiners who have served their apprenticeships. Instead they want dexterous kit assemblers. The end result of this may be that the firm does not require an input from further education at all as new materials and tools make certain skills redundant.

Why did some employers use further education for part of their training? The answers to this question showed that the criteria employers used for the granting of day release were:

1. The necessity of the course for the improved efficiency of the firm.
2. The relevance of the course to the individual employee's job.
3. The motivation shown by the employee.

4. Time - whether the firm could afford the employee to be off the premises.

A minority of employers also placed emphasis on the use of further education for specialist courses to produce an elite corps within the firm, who could then pass on their knowledge to the rest of the workforce.

The main advantages to the employee were perceived by the employers as:

1. improved performance on the job;
2. increased chances of promotion;
3. getting proper formalised training - the college theory backing up the day-to-day practical work.

However, employers were quick to point out that qualifications gained as a result of day release were not a guarantee of promotion and should not be seen as such by the employee.

If we look at the results as a whole some very salient points emerged. Only five firms had ever approached a college with a suggestion for a new course or training method, and of those that did use the college 15 percent did not monitor the courses in any way, to assess their suitability. Firms did not see a role for further education beyond the providing of courses and few employers played any part in the designing of the syllabus. Although the whole issue of training is a topical one, when asked to predict how provision may develop in years to come, a majority could not pinpoint any major changes. The firms seemed content that the colleges have a definite role to play, provided they kept pace with changes in technology and production processes.

Employees

It is notable that 64 percent of the students on day release were there as a requirement of the job or on the suggestion of their employer. A further 23 percent had asked their employer for day release and the request had been granted. When asked why they were taking their present course, the three most popular reasons given were:

1. to improve general qualifications (46 percent);
2. to increase knowledge of work (33 percent);
3. to improve chances of promotion (26 percent);

These are akin to the advantages perceived by employers, but at variance with earlier research, for example, Claire Hastings' findings where qualifications were not perceived as being of such importance (1977, p. 41). The wide difference in emphasis might be explained by the change in economic conditions since 1977.

48 percent of the students saw their college course as definitely being relevant to their work at present and 26 percent viewed it as having little or no relevance now. However, whereas 45 percent expected their course to be relevant to their future work, only 5 percent were definite that it would be of no relevance to future work. Thus it appeared that students took a long term view of the value of their course both in their motives for taking it and in their assessment of its relevance. They expected the course to be of value to their work. When students were given the opportunity to make additional comments about personal benefits which they expected their present course to bring, they again concentrated on the gains which it could provide to them in their job. Sixteen percent replied that it would give them a better understanding of the job and 19 percent that it would improve their job or promotion prospects.

40 percent felt that the amount of practical work in their course was about right and 51 percent felt that it was insufficient. However, 64 percent thought that the amount of theory in their course was about right, and 28 percent that there was too much theory. Thus, although there is a large measure of satisfaction indicated by these figures, there is also a strong feeling from the students that a balance between practical and theoretical work has not been achieved in their courses. College staff, however, were well satisfied with the balance between theoretical and practical work in their courses, although a minority were conscious of a need to introduce more work-related content or more experimental work into their course.

The colleges' training

College staff saw their principal contribution to be that of providing the theory to back up the practical work which students received in their job. They had the time to ensure that students were introduced to a broader range of skills than would be provided in their job alone. A few expressed the view that the reduced pressure of time meant that in one important respect the work of further education could not reproduce the conditions on the job. However, there was general satisfaction that the further education course was well integrated or complemented the training which students received on the job. The main difficulty in this respect was keeping up to date with new developments and maintaining contact with industry.

College staff and employers in the study were asked about the advantages and disadvantages of a broadly-based as against a narrowly-based course. Lecturers considered the main advantages of a broad approach to be that of permitting the student to discover what he liked doing best and that it gave him greater insight into his job, whereas a narrowly based course trained him in too limited a range of skills. An advantage of the broadly-based course to the employer was that he had a more flexible workforce. Furthermore, it enhanced the student's career prospects, including his chances of moving to another employer. The main disadvantage which further education staff saw in a broad training was that it did not meet employers' immediate needs for specialists, because it limited the depth of the training. It was acknoweldged, although not widely, that broadly-based training might reduce a students' motivation for the course.

Employers were convinced that job specific training in the college did motivate their employees, because these employees had already decided what they wanted to do. Many endorsed the further education staff's view that they required specialist workers and wanted specific training which contributed to that. However, they were also alert to the advantage of having a flexible workforce and many employers looked for the general development of their employees, to which they felt a broad education could contribute. Some appreciated that broadly-based education and training would improve employees' career prospects even if it meant moving to other firms. A few provided sufficient specialist training on the job and did not require further education to be very job specific.

These apparently incompatible demands, to train specialists and yet to contribute towards a more flexible workforce, were also evident in the Scottish study (Ryrie et al, 1978, pp. 76, 77). However, two qualifying points need to be made. Firstly, all courses tend to become more specialist as the student progresses to more advanced stages. Therefore, the pattern of a broad base followed by increasing specialism emerges quite naturally, if the student remains in further education beyond the first year. Secondly, most students are receiving some form of training outside further education, although it is usually confined to working alongside a more experienced colleague. So further education's contribution to their experience is not being made in isolation. Provided further education staff remain in touch with the job tasks and other training received by their students, they can continually relate their broader input to their students' familiar frame of reference. This clearly makes severe demands upon further education staffs' time. But it also places a responsibility upon employers to make known their requirements to further education.

Conclusions

The Industrial Training Act of 1963 provided the impetus for the growth of day release and by the mid 1970s the practice was largely unchallenged across a whole range of industries. The economic recession, however, has forced employers to reassess all aspects of the firm's competitiveness and efficiency and this includes the training of the workforce. Day release, from being an article of faith, is now being questioned on the grounds of relevance, content, time and money. The further education colleges now not only have to provide the courses, they have to market them effectively if they are to have a chance of retaining day release students as a significant part of their provision. Even where there is a college which communicates well and offers relevant courses and an employer who is keen to send employees, economic factors can dictate a situation where there may not be the numbers to make the course viable. Apprentices were the cornerstone of day release. Their numbers are dwindling. Fewer school leavers are being recruited, hence there are fewer apprentices and less demand for day release. It is by no means certain that the 'new technology' industries will utilise further education to a degree which will make up for the recent shortfall in numbers.

Those employees who are able to make use of day release do not support the old belief that people went to the college for a day off work or to 'get out of the rain'. Their motivation appears to be the desire to gain qualifications and a chance to progress up the career ladder. In a high unemployment situation academic qualifications are seen as a hedge against possible redundancy. Problems can arise, however, if a dichotomy exists between the aspirations for career and personal development of the employees and the orientation of the firms which without doubt in our interviews placed the needs of the company as paramount and the desires of the individual as secondary. It is not to say that 'n'er the twain shall meet' but it is important to be aware that the employer and employee can disagree over the reasons for granting day release.

The further education colleges have been faced with many new demands in the last five years and obviously need time to organise staff development programmes and arrange new courses, but time is precisely what they are short of. Firms are interested in applied knowledge - problem solving and getting the best out of their workforce in the 1980s. The further education colleges have been at the forefront in providing expertise for many years and it seems as if they still can play a major part if they keep abreast of industrial change. What they teach has to be seen to be relevant to what the employee does during the other four days in the week. In the present cut-throat economic atmosphere, firms are discarding anything which is surplus to their requirements. Further education is a commodity which, unless it is presented well and is seen to produce results can also be jettisoned and a new brand of training brought in. But this bleak outlook is being carefully avoided by many colleges and employers. For example, we have seen an instance where an employee can be brought off the production line and a video film used to explain any difficulties. This is a striking example of training as a cost efficient exercise, but the further education college too had a role to play in giving intensive theoretical back up and in having its staff visit the company to keep abreast of any recent changes in the production process. In this instance good practice had the supplier of students and the provider of courses working together to design and monitor the course.

Our research has shown that colleges, employers and employees share a sober and realistic approach to the requirements of training. Nevertheless, day release is steeped in its own folklore and every member of staff has his own favourite horror story. Let me end with such a one from the novel *Wilt* by Tom Sharpe.

> For ten long years he had done his damnedest to extend the sensibilities of Day Release Apprentices with notable lack of success. Exposure to culture, the Head of Liberal Studies called it, but from Wilt's view it looked more like his own exposure to barbarism ... The man who said the pen was mightier than the sword ought to have tried reading *The Mill on the Floss* to Motor Mechanics Three before he opened his big mouth. In Wilt's view, the sword had much to recommend it.

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COMPENSATION FOR DEFICIENCES IN THE SECOND-LEVEL SYSTEM

Tom Baum and Linda McLoughlin

The central tenet of this paper, that major deficiencies exist within the secondary education system in Ireland in terms of its relevance to many aspects of contemporary living, is not one held exclusively by the authors. Concern is longstanding and its expression may be identified with wide-ranging interests, including parents, employers, teachers, academics and government bodies. The basis for such concern is varied, reflecting debate from academic, vocational, economic and social perspectives about an educational system which has, to a large extent, remained consistent to certain traditional, primarily academic, objectives for the past half century. Indeed, as Mulcahy[1] argues:

> Despite the changes of recent years, at no time during the past fifteen years or indeed at anytime since the setting up of the Department of Education in 1924, has any sustained assessment and critical analysis been undertaken in regard to the overall purposes and programmes of post-primary education in Ireland.

The past decade has seen an unprecedented level of questioning and criticism of traditional schooling throughout western society, including here in Ireland. However, it is clearly evident that the social and educational environment of the 1980s does not allow us the luxury for continued erudition.

Perhaps the most pressing factor behind this argument is the situation of contemporary youth in high technology society, facing the prospects of no guaranteed employment, irrespective of educational level. Uncertainty of values and personal insecurity in all facets of life present what Bishop Brendan Comiskey[2] describes as "one of the great challenges facing schools and educators today", that "of leading people from a spirit of hopelessness and a feeling of powerlessness about their lives". While Comiskey's discussion is primarily concerned with unemployment, it is arguable that his thesis is applicable in a wider context, as a feature endemic in a significant proportion of modern youth. This is supported by the perceptive insights of the National Youth Policy Committee in their discussion document Shaping the Future,[3] which identifies a large number of the critical issues facing youth today.

Clearly this scenario demands a dynamic, wide-ranging and pragmatic approach to educational reform. It is to be hoped that this will emanate from various recent initiatives, in particular, at the national level, through the Minister of Education's establishment of the new Curriculum and Examination Board. At a more local level, various curriculum development projects are addressing issues of practical pertinence and will, it is to be hoped, act as precursors to overall reform. As McKernan[4] comments in relation to the North Tipperary Pastoral Care Project:

> While an espoused goal of post-primary education in Ireland has been to prepare pupils for adult life, few schools have been able to develop programmes that seek to attain this aim.

The purpose of this paper is to review features of the post-primary system from the perspective of an agency committed to meeting the varied needs of young people in further education and training at post-secondary and in-service levels. The Council for Education, Recruitment and Training for the Hotel, Catering and Tourism Industry, (CERT) was established in 1963 to meet the manpower needs, at all levels, of the hotel and catering industry. The role of CERT today, acting on behalf of the State, is to provide and co-ordinate

- the recruitment, education, training and structured work experience placement of both young school leavers and unemployed persons
- The career development opportunities for all personnel in the hotel, catering and tourism industry through in-company and external programmes of education and training
- advisory, information and support services for the industry.

The key purpose of CERT's activity is to ensure that high levels of quality, effectiveness and efficiency characterise all facets of the hotel, catering and tourism industry.

These concerns and responsibilities have evolved and developed over the twenty-one years of CERT's existence, resulting in a range of activities and commitments which meet the changing needs of the industry and provide for the continued career development of personnel at all levels. Both these major responsibilities have involved CERT directly with the second-level system in a variety of ways:

- careers promotion/information services and a centralised national recruitment and selection of young people for craft courses
- development of national curricula to meet the skills and personal needs of students and provision of education and training, through the vocational education system, for craft students leading to National Certification

- provision of pre-employment education and training modules for second-level schools.

Consequently, this close association with the second-level system allows for certain comments to be made, relating to deficiencies perceived from the point of view of a primarily training-orientated organisation. These issues have been clearly identified within CERT and responses implemented to compensate for these problems. Our comments on the second-level system reflect the various points of contact between schools and the responsibilities which fall under the CERT umbrella. Each area of concern is supported by evidence from work undertaken by CERT and, in most cases, has triggered a number of compensating responses in terms of curricula, pastoral care, assessment and provision of information.

LIFESKILLS

For many young people the transition from school to third-level education and work can present major difficulties in terms of integration, managing the responsibilities of adulthood and taking charge of their own lives in an independent and confident manner. The extent and range of the difficulties encountered, place considerable pressure on the coping skills of the individuals concerned. In many instances, the highly academic nature of their education prior to entering either college or the workplace and the very structured context in which second-level education operates, militates against young people who may find themselves in situations for which they have been ill prepared. With the exceptions of a few locally based educational initiatives such as the Shannon Alternative Senior-Cycle Project, the needs of young people have, to date, largely been ignored at national level by the education system.

Hopson and Scally[5] suggest that:

> Changes are being demanded all round for a switch in emphasis from an academic, subject centred curriculum to a more practiced, needs based curriculum geared to the changing demands of the economy and society. The focus increasingly is on developing a range of personal competencies that will equip young people to fulfil a variety of life-roles in a rapidly changing world. The emphasis is on developing the students' ability to say "I can... " as well as "I know..."

Given CERT's nationwide recruitment strategy, the experience of CERT trainees should reflect quite accurately that of many young people in Ireland. Our student records reveal significant deficiencies in the area of likeskills, evidenced by the type of trainee problems which college teachers and CERT training advisers face on a regular basis. These lifeskills deficiences can be broadly categorised as follows:

- lack of self-reliance and self-discipline. Many trainees living away from home for the fitst time are unable to cope with their new found 'freedom' and can experience extreme loneliness
- poor time management in terms of planning for leisure and study
- little understanding of their own sexuality. The rate of unwanted pregnancy is high
- limited career aspirations and lack of career planning skills. Many trainees think purely in terms of 'getting a job'
- inexperience in managing personal finances
- inability to cope with problems generally, and in recognising sources of help and advice.

These problems are further compounded by poor communication skills among trainees generally.

To support the trainee through this period of transition and to prepare him/her for future life transitions, CERT provide a welfare service, through a network of training advisers, who visit students regularly during their training in college and in industry.

These training advisers provide individual and group counselling services, not just simply in cases where remedial action is required but as a developmental strategy to help students reach their full potential and to promote an overall mature and positive approach to life. CERT's welfare advisory services also take responsiblity for the promotion of understanding for the needs of the CERT trainee with college authorities and teachers as well as among employers and supervisors in industry so as to develop an environment conducive to training and education in the broadest sense.

Another response by CERT to the vital personal development needs of young people has been the design of a Lifeskills Programme which was introduced in 1980 as an integral part of all craft training courses and which comprises 25 percent of the total training period. This represents a training budget allocation of approximately 20.5 million per annum.

The aims of the programme are to enable trainees to:

- cope adequately with general post-school experience
- approach their future life in a mature, balanced way
- commence a career in the Hotel, Catering and Tourism Industry, with a confidence gained through exposure to relevant 'fringe' subjects
- communicate effectively both verbally and in written form.

The concept of the programme can be aptly summarised by the adage - "Education is not just about the earning of a living but the spending of a life".

The nature of the programme lends itself to an experiential learning approach complementary to its content. The recommended teaching methodology is characterised by continuous use of discovery-learning techniques and practical exercises oriented to the development of individual resourcefulness and initiative. The design of appropriate resource materials and evaluation processes is a CERT priority for 1984. Developments in these areas will contribute directly to the long term effectiveness of the programme.

CERT has extended the lifeskills concept beyond the context of formal full-time programmes to other aspects of its training provision. A Lifeskills Programme tailored to the needs of one and two day release craft trainees is currently being designed and will be implemented from September 1984.

Also this year, CERT has increased the scope of its taining programme for unemployed people to include a personal development dimension to complement the primary craft skills element of their training. The deficiencies already outlined in this paper combined with the demoralising experience of unemployment, make the provision of lifeskills training for this group of over 18s particularly relevant, necessary and worthwhile.

WORK ORIENTATION AND AWARENESS

Since the mid-seventies, CERT has witnessed a dramatic change in the profile of applicants for hotel and catering courses which has had major repercussions on the drop-out rate from full-time catering courses and on the suitability and commitment of applicants to careers in the Hotel and Catering Industry.

CERT'S traditional recruiting ground was vocational schools whose students had either Group or Intermediate Certificate standard of education with a high level of manipulative skill as a result of taking the practical subjects offered in the vocational education system. Since 1975 the percentage of applicants with Leaving Certiciate level education has increased from 5 percent to approximately 60 percent and the numbers applying from secondary schools has increased proportionally. While applicants now hold higher academic qualifications, their level of practical skill has declined significantly. This coupled with the reduction of hours allocated to practical home economics generally at second-level has put young people embarking on hotel and catering careers at a distinct disadvantage.

Another feature of this trend is that the nature and practical demands of work in the hotel and catering industry do not always meet the expectations of the more academically gifted and the drop-out rate during college training and while on industrial experience is of concern to CERT, whose financial investment in trainees is high. CERT is conscious of the needs to respond to these changing trends and has taken compensatory action at a number of levels.

At pre-entry level, CERT's careers service provides up-to-date information on the career opportunities open to school leavers within the industry and the range of training courses available. The important role of Careers Guidance Counsellors is recognised by CERT. Their co-operation is actively sought to promote greater industry awareness among potential applicants of work in a large service industry and to inform them of the types of aptitudes and personal qualities required of hotel and catering personnel.

Through career talks in schools, attendance at careers exhibitions and seminars for Guidance Counsellors, concerted efforts are made to help school leavers to make a more informed and appropriate career choice. 50 percent of the respondents to CERT's "Where are they now?"[6] survey advised those thinking of entering the industry to get part-time or holiday work experience in a relevant area before taking up full-time training or employment. This advice is certainly pertinent and CERT's selection procedures place emphasis on relevant industrial experience.

Likewise at pre-entry level, the development of the Preliminary Course in Hotel, Catering and Tourism Studies - a vocationally orientated programme for young people in second-level education - is a direct response to the changing profile of applicants to CERT. The Preliminary Course has been operating successfully since 1979 and is running in ten vocational schools. This one year course is designed for students in the 16 to 18 age group who have expressed an interest in employment in the Hotel and Catering Industry. The overall aims of the course are to:

- provide a broad educational base on which a more informed choice of career can be made
- familiarise the student with the hotel, catering and tourism industry and the associated career/job opportunities
- help the student to reach a level of achievement in industry-related topics which will facilitate progress to courses of further education and into employment in industry

- provide an opportunity for the student to continue his/her general education, and in particular, to help him/her acquire appropriate literacy and numeracy skills
- assist the student to become more aware of his/her social, political and physical environment.

The course structure and content was specifically designed to tackle many of the identified deficiencies within the second-level system as outlined in this paper. Its general education content, which comprises 50 percent of the course, has a broader base than the traditional senior-cycle curriculum and emphasis has been placed on skills for living, e.g. practical application of numeracy and communications skills, use of leisure time, environmental awareness, pastoral care and study skills. The hotel and catering studies content is more wide ranging than the traditional approach to the teaching of home economics in second-level schools. The course promotes the development of basic professional cookery, food service and hotel housekeeping skills with an awareness of customer needs and the related hospitality skills. A three week work familiarisation programme is an integral part of the course.

The course is now established as an alternative method of entry to full-time craft courses as students who successfully complete the course are guaranteed a training place sponsored by CERT. The Preliminary Course goes a long way in preparing students for training within the third-level system.

The National Craft Curricula and Certification Board, jointly established in 1982 by CERT and the Department of Education, is charged with the responsibility to develop college programmes which are relevant and responsive to the needs of the Irish hotel and catering industry. The new curricula place much emphasis on the development of practical skills relevant to the work situation and all programmes include structured industrial experience. The National Craft Curricula and Certification Board approach to assessment for all craft courses includes:

- continuous assessment of practical coursework
- terminal written examinations
- assessment of industrial experience

This appraoch emphasises the importance of the practical dimension of craft training.

Other developments at second-level to overcome the lack of practical skills and industry awareness include:

- the design by CERT in 1982 of a one year Hotel and Catering pre-employment Programme which is available on request to all second-level schools
- the development of a range of catering modules for pre-employment programmes in the Greater Dublin area by Trinity Curriculum Development Unit in association with CERT, and
- the major initiative by Shannon Curriculum Development Unit in designing an alternative senior cycle programme and offering a practically oriented Food Sciences module, which will include hotel and catering studies. CERT is providing technical advice and support to the project.

NUMERACY, LITERACY AND COMMUNICATION SKILLS

Despite what is now an increasing tendency for academically better qualified school leavers to apply to

CERT, very clear deficiencies can be identified with respect to the basic skills of numeracy, literacy and communication. These problems are in evidence both at the stage of student recruitment and among successful applicants during their college careers.

In terms of numeracy, CERT's standardised interview procedure, gives credit for the correct answering of three, simple arithmetical questions, chosen to reflect the type of calculations required in hotel and catering work - addition, subtraction and percentage calculations, for example. There was consistent and disturbing evidence that over half of the approximately 5,000 applicants interviewed in 1982 and 1983 failed to give correct answers to all these questions. It would appear that insufficient emphasis is placed in schools on the practical arithmetic which constitutes the basic demand within the hotel and catering industry.

In relation to literacy and written communications similar problems are evident. A review of some 5,000 application forms received in 1984 suggests a number of difficulties which are reflective both of a literacy nature and also in relation to job/course application skills. Examples of such problems include:

- poor spelling and grammar; a number of cases where names, addresses and schools were incorrectly spelt
- instructions on form not fully read
- inadequate information given on previous work experience. As this is a major factor in selection, the potential penalties for failure here are high
- little thought given to application, particularly with respect to "Reasons for applying".

Similar problems are also in evidence at interview where poor articulation and an evident lack of preparation in terms of reading the provided literature and clarifying exactly what they are applying for frequently lets applicants down badly. That the written language remains a problem once students are at college is evident. For example, second year chef students, sitting their City and Guilds of London Institute 706/2 examinations are required to take two written papers, the first a multiple choice test and the second based primarily on short answer questions, demanding greater written literacy skills.

The 1981, 1982 and 1983 results in Ireland show a significant, although not very consistent, difference in pass rate:[7]

1981

	1st Written	2nd Written
PASS	88%	63%
FAIL	8%	1%
REFERRED	4%	36%
NUMBER	235	98

1982

	1st Written	2nd Written
PASS	93%	85%
FAIL	0.7%	0.8%
REFERRED	6%	14%
NUMBER	257	255

1983

	1st Written	2nd Written
PASS	87%	71%
FAIL	0.3%	-
REFERRED	13%	29%
NUMBER	365	360

While clearly the examples quoted in relation to numeracy, literacy and communication problems cannot purport to be conclusive, they are indicative of a fairly widespread deficiency among both potential and actual recruits to hotel and catering training at craft-level.

CERT's response to this situation is reflected on a number of fronts. Prior to entry to full-time craft education, CERT's Preliminary Course (see above) is designed to provide potential entrants with a balance of industry-orientated skills and general studies relevant to application within the work environment. The Life Skills Programme (see above), while not intended to be of a remedial nature, includes a number of components which clearly do compensate for problems of this nature. Literacy, numeracy and communication skills are integrated into the issue or theme based curriculum of the programme, with an emphasis on their application.

Finally, in recognition of diverse abilities of trainees and the need for differing skills within the industry, the new National Certificate courses which are currently replacing City and Guilds programmes, have adopted a broadly eclectic approach to assessment. In doing so, the intention is to assess as wide a range of skills, knowledge and attitudes as is appropriate, at a theoretical and practical level so that excessive reliance on any particular assessment skill, written, oral or practical, does not penalise students.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Traditionally, the hotel, catering and tourism industry has a high level of staff mobility, both nationally and internationally. This can be seen as desirable in contributing to the development of personnel through experience in a wide variety of work environments. CERT, in seeking to maintain this tradition, place considerable emphasis on both study and work experience abroad, in Great Britain, Europe and North America. Scholarship and work experience placement, in Europe is significantly handicapped by the inability of a large number of technically proficient young people to communicate effectively in requisite foreign languages, primarily French and German. This is a major barrier to effective placement as it is to meeting the needs of foreign visitors in this country. Information from employing agencies abroad suggests that their priority is on language rather than technical competence as the key to an effective work and training experience. Applicants who may have formal academic qualifications in foreign languages, are frequently unable to use these skills conversationally.

CERT encourages conversational foreign language instruction as part of life skills programme in catering colleges, and special, intensive programmes in French or German are organised for young people selected for placement abroad. Additionally, a multi-media language "survival kit" is being prepared for students going abroad to enable them to prepare effectively for their placement prior to travelling.

CONCLUSION

It should be stated that this analysis of second-level education and the responses which have been implemented in response to it are by no means comprehensive. The perspectives are limited to the particular areas of contact which CERT maintains with the second-level system and the consequent action which meets organisational aims.

However, we believe that our comments, while in no way entirely original, have a particular relevance in the context of contemporary developments, especially as they eminate from outside the mainstream secondary system. Likewise, our responses may provide useful suggestions and indicators for action for others. A major priority within CERT is to maintain and develop the relevance of all our educational and training programmes through constant review and the introduction of new features and approaches. In doing so, our dependence on the effectiveness of the second-level system remains considerable and reform within this sector will be both eagerly awaited and critically reviewed.

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SUMMER RECREATION PROVISION IN AMERICA AND NORTHERN IRELAND - A COMPARATIVE OVERVIEW

Paul G. J. Anthony

The development of summer recreation schemes in America cannot be divorced from the general recreation movement which originated in the larger urban areas in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the period 1820-1840 the first outdoor gymnasiums were opened on school premises, but the event generally accepted as distinctly marking the beginning of the recreation movement was the opening of the Boston Sandgardens in 1885. As the name suggests these were primitive sandpits initially installed in Mission yards and later transferred to school property. They were staffed by volunteers in the early years but as they spread to other urban areas these were replaced by employees paid by school committees. The sand was gradually replaced by more formal apparatus and the name playgrounds was applied to them. Paralleling the growth of the playground movement was the Settlement House Movement, the Boys Club Movement and the Summer Vacation Schools which began to offer structured play programmes in the summer months.

By the start of the twentieth century, the playground movement had begun to gather momentum due to the increasing popular awareness of the need for organised wholesome leisure activities and the subsequent efforts of the new breed of recreation educationalists such as Joseph Lee. It was largely through Lee's endeavours that state Legislature (Massachusetts) was introduced requiring towns and cities of over 10,000 population to establish playgrounds. At the same time school boards began to make school buildings available for summer recreation and the economic benefits of opening facilities such as gymnasiums, swimming pools and playing fields - which were idle during the summer months - were now recognised. In 1907 the summer school movement received nationwide attention when a school extension committee was set up in Rochester. An appropriation of $5,000 was made of an investigation into the use of school centres for summer play and a supervisor was employed to direct a programme under the auspices of the school board. Although only moderately successful the experiment stimulated the wider use of school plant in other cities.

By the end of the first decade then, summer recreation facilities were being provided by three main sources: philanthropic bodies, school boards and municipal recreation departments. While the schemes provided by the voluntary groups and the school boards were relatively small scale affairs, the playgrounds set up by the municipal bodies increased steadily in number due in no small measure to the formation of the Playground Association of America (1906). After the 1914-18 War, however, the growth of specialised summer provision for children was halted in favour of the development of community recreation programmes with a bias towards the leisure education of adults. The movement lay dormant until the White House Conference (1938) which in its Children's Charter proposed:[1]

> ... for every child from birth through adolescence, promotion of health, including health instruction and a health programme, wholesome physical and mental recreation with teachers and leaders adequately trained.

The Conference stimulated recreation schemes at all levels and summer playgrounds increased in number and type through the efforts of recreationalists such as Weir and

Brewer and national agencies such as the National Youth Organisation.

By the end of World War Two the summer recreation day centre movement had become part of the wider all-year round provision. The programmes which were originally intended for a few months of the year now covered the whole year. Initial activities which included unstructured play and free drama were extended to embrace a multitude of activities including music, nature study, organised coaching in team and individual sports, art and crafts, interested volunteers who were the first playscheme leaders have been replaced by trained recreation leaders. At present there are many different types of playground:

(a) The playlot

These are for young children and often are simply a fenced off part of the main playground.

(b) The neighbourhood playground

This is the major community recreation unit with indoor and outdoor recreation facilities.

(c) The community playfield

This is usually attached to a High School for simple cost effectiveness.

Most playground schemes in the summer months are organised by the municipal authorities but voluntary bodies also offer more informal schemes in the parks. The municipal schemes are staffed with qualified recreation personnel and college students and graduates; the voluntary schemes tend to use volunteers who are interested rather than qualified.

With regard to programming, the municipal schemes tend to have a city-wide programme with modifications at local level. Hence there is a fixed timetable for all schemes. Often there is a theme for each week, e.g. "the American Indian", "the Colonial Period", "Space Exploration", etc., and the non-sporting activities would centre around these.

While the summer playground is now part of the all-year-round community recreation programme, the summer camp is a separate seasonal entity. Its origins date back to the middle of the nineteenth century. As with the playground movement, early efforts were informal and camps were set up by philanthropic individuals and Church and voluntary groups. Initial activities were confined to nature study, woodcraft and hiking, and emphasis was on the development of character and wholesome attitudes to the concept of outdoor living with a strong element of competition built into all activities. By the start of the twentieth century private entrepreneurs and municipal bodies had instituted camps and in 1935 the American Camping Association was founded to ensure uniformity of standards over the whole country.

The early camps had a simple philosophy of recreation but in the 1930s a greater educational element was incorporated into the programmes and activities were expanded to meet the needs of the growing school curriculum. At the same time, untrained volunteers were replaced by staff who were expected to have followed a recreation course at college level. Present day camping has now a threefold philosophy - the recreation and educational philosophy and now a philosophy of social orientation and responsibility.

The most commonly accepted and probably the most inclusive definition of modern organised camping is the one used by the American Camping Association in its standards programme:[2]

> Camping provides a creative educational experience in co-operative group living in the out-of-doors. It utilises the resources of the natural surroundings to contribute significantly to the mental, physical, social and spiritual growth. It is a sustained experience under the supervision of trained leadership.

And as Carlson states:[3]

> It is in essence the blending of education and recreation in the natural environs of the woods, open fields rugged mountains or water's edge. To the child it must spell fun and adventure; to the parent it must imply a safe and satisfying vacation; to the camp director it means the opportunity to make significant contributions to the child's physical, intellectual and emotional growth.

Basically there are four types of camp:

1. Private Camps.

   These are profit-orientated and largely cater for middle class children. They are concentrated in the rugged mountains and woodland areas of the North-east, mid-west and the coast of California. Length of stay is about eight weeks.

2. Organisational Camps.

   Such camps are sponsored by organisations such as the Boy Scouts, Salvation Army and Boys Clubs of America, and many are geared towards the needs of underprivileged children. As a result of the restricted capital, facilities are limited and length of stay at camp is usually limited to 1-2 weeks to accommodate as many children as possible.

3. Institutional Camps.

   These are camps for the physically and mentally handicapped. Recreational facilities tend to be extremely limited and specialised and much of the time is devoted to nursing and occupational therapy.

4. Camps operated by tax-supported agencies.

   This category includes camps organised by the schools, park and recreation departments of municipal boards and other public agencies. Again length of stay is limited to 1-2 weeks.

In each administrative category there are day camps, resident camps, travel camps, special interest camps and school camps. By far the most popular is the long term resident camp. Here children live in natural surroundings for a period of five days to eight weeks. It has a fixed site and permanent facilities and resembles a small community in that it contains elements recognisable as community segments. Accommodation is basic either in log cabins or tents. The layout of the camp varies with location, finance, camp objectives and number of campers, but in general there is space for camper living quarters, access roadways, utilities, sanitary facilities, administration buildings, service areas, recreational fields and general activity areas. Where possible camp structures are made from native materials and an attempt is made to blend them into the natural setting. A large percentage of camps have access to a waterfront.

There are many variations in camp layout. A large number of sites are circular or semi-circular centred around facilities such as the dining hall, parade ground, lake etc. The recent trend is towards the decentralised pattern where the living quarters are segregated into separate units which are almost self contained.

Campers participate in a planned programme of activities which include watersports, nature study, hill-walking, athletics and crafts. The programme is "a dynamic interplay of events ... and involves peer relationships, spontaneous behaviour, modified behaviour, adherence to pre-arranged schedules, conformity to specific codes and individual adjustment to changing conditions".[4] It is not simply a question of filling every moment of the child's day with physical activity to keep him occupied. The modern programme is a balance between a highly organised routine and a 'free activity' schedule. A detailed master plan is drawn up for the whole period with schedules for separate weeks and days. Flexibility is allowed in that attention is centred on the individual rather than the activity. A typical daily schedule might be (see Figure 1).

FIG.1: AN EXAMPLE OF A DAILY SCHEDULE

7.15 Reveille - Optional swim
7.45 Flag Raising - Personal Inspection
8.00 Breakfast - Clean up of living quarters
9.30 First Activity period
10.30 Second Activity period
11.45 Optional swim
12.30 Lunch
1.30 Rest Hour
2.30 Third Activity period
3.30 Fourth Activity period
4.30 Supervised free time
6.00 Dinner
7.00 Flag lowering ceremony - Evening entertainment
8.30 First bell - younger children
9.30 Second bell - older children

Programme evaluation is as necessary to the efficient running of the camp as is programme formation and execution. There are measures available for quantitative and qualitative evaluation of programmes. Whereas quantitative measurement is relatively easy, qualitative evaluation is difficult in terms of objective measurement as it depends upon appreciation of values ideas and subjective appraisal of performance. Although the major evaluation occurs at the end of the session, it is an on-going process with camp directors, playleaders and children involved in the decision making process (See Fig.2).

FIG 2: EVENT EVALUATION SCHEDULE FOR A DAY CAMP

PARTY POST MORTEM

General Effects:

1. Was the event good fun for everyone attending? _____
2. Did all the committees seem to be well co-ordinated? _____
3. Did each committee take care of its own clean-up? _____
4. Was there a sufficient build-up of advance interest? _____
5. Was there a smooth continuity of theme? _____

Atmosphere:

1. Was there something easy for everyone to do when he came in? _____
2. Were there activities that avoided making participants uncomfortable or "on the spot"? _____
3. Did these activities set the stage sufficiently for the mood of the evening? _____

Refreshments:

1. Were the refreshments a pleasant surprise that dove-tailed into the event smoothly? _____
2. Was the group served quickly and easily? _____
3. Was the best use made of seating arrangements for the refreshments? _____

Programme:

1. Did the party move smoothly from one activity and leader to another? _____
2. Was there a good balance of programme for the kind of people attending? _____

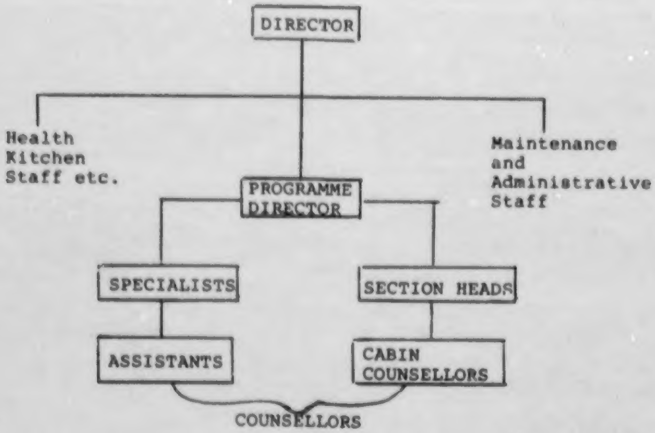
FIG 2 (Continued)

3. Was there a good balance of leadership? ______
4. Did the event move at a good tempo? ______
5. Rate the leaders on the following:
   Did they participate in the activities while leading? ______
   Did they have control of the group? ______

Source: Bureau of Recreation, Dayton Ohio, U.S.A.

The administration of the modern camp is a complex structure of professional, semi-professional, specialists, interested people and volunteers (see Fig.3).

FIG.3: CAMP ORGANISATION CHART


DIRECTOR
Health
Kitchen
Staff etc.
Maintenance
and
Administrative
Staff
PROGRAMME DIRECTOR
SPECIALISTS
SECTION HEADS
ASSISTANTS
CABIN COUNSELLORS
COUNSELLORS

Dependent on their position in the camp, the counsellors are usually college students or graduate teachers with an education and/or recreation background. The general counsellor has an extremely close relationship with the children. He looks after a group of 6-8 children and it is usual for him to live in the same cabin and assist them whenever help is sought. He supervises personal and cabin cleanliness, helps to maintain a high level of morale, ensures that the campers receive medical attention when needed, supervises rest hours, helps with the specialised recreational activities and acts as Counsellor-on-Duty one night a week. Counsellors are thus strictly vetted by personal interviews which are often accompanied by a series of personality tests. As with programme evaluation, there is a series of subjective and objective assessment techniques to evaluate performance. Similarly individual assessment is made of campers' adjustment to camp life and their personality development etc.

As with the U.S.A. summer recreation schemes in Northern Ireland were originally started by voluntary groups such as the Scouts, Scripture Union etc. The first scheme to get funds from government was a Y.M.C.A. project in Newtownabbey in 1964 which received 75 percent grant from the Ministry of Education. In the following year, the Antrim Local Education Authority agreed to pay the wages of the staff. By 1967 other Y.M.C.A. schemes had spread over the rest of the area under the Antrim L.E.A. and in 1967 it took over the running and financing of the schemes completely. By 1969 Tyrone and Down L.E.A.s were also providing summer schemes. Direct Ministry intervention came in April 1970 and all L.E.A.s were urged to open up both staff and voluntary schools for summer recreation schemes. Both primary and secondary schools were used and children from the corresponding age groups went to the respective centres. Staff and voluntary centres received total funding from Ministry funds.

In the period 1970-1977 a vast programme of recreation activities was initiated. The Borough Councils and the Parks and Cemetries Department began to operate schemes although duplication of activities became a problem. Voluntary schemes continued to operate such as the V.S.B. schemes and individual neighbourhoods started small scale ventures under the guise of local festivals. Although there have been cut-backs in the past five years the above situation still persists albeit on a smaller dimension, with a few innovations such a community holidays and adventure holidays such as the Bushmills School of Sport, and the leisure centres which now run their own schemes.

The concept of the summer camp in Northern Ireland is fairly recent and it has been slow to take off the ground due perhaps in no small measure to the lack of private enterprize. Local Area Boards do run their own camps as do organisations such as the Y.M.C.A. and the Scripture Union but these tend to be short-term affairs as they wish to cater for as many children as possible.

The day schemes funded by the Department of Education are mainly held on school premises. The staff are mainly teachers and students and more recently unemployed youth. There is no set programme for any of the centres, as each centre leader is free to choose (with help from his assistants and his clientele) whatever he wishes to do. In addition there is no formal evaluation of the leaders or the programmes. This is left to a subjective report by the scheme leader at the end of the season.

Activities on offer at each centre include football, athletics, indoor gym games, arts and crafts. The day-trip is an important feature of the schemes and all centres have at least one trip per week. In addition the children are also given specialist instruction in such activities as rock climbing, canoeing, archery and orienteering at specialised activity centres.

What then are the main differences in summer recreation provision between the two countries? Firstly, there is a distinct difference in philosophy. In America, summer recreation is seen as part of the concept of education in leisure awareness; it is part of a year-round-programme which encourages the development of wholesome attitudes to recreation. In Northern Ireland, the schemes are run from a more functionalist - utilitarian approach in the sense that they are primarily regarded as time-fillers for children with long school holidays.

A second major difference is in the actual provision of the schemes. In America municipal, voluntary and profit making bodies are involved both in day-centre schemes and extended camps. On the other hand in Northern Ireland the voluntary and private sectors take second and third place to government funded schemes.

Thirdly, and ignoring differences in scale, there are a greater number of different types of scheme in America.

Fourthly, there are differences in leadership. In America there are more teachers involved. College students and graduates tend to be majors in education and/or recreation. This is not the case in Northern Ireland although physical education students are more in demand in the leisure centres and the activity centres. The schemes in the U.S.A. use formal evaluation procedures to assess leaders while in Northern Ieland subjective 'end-of-season' reports suffice.

Differences also occur in the children who attend the schemes. In America there is a wider age range from 4-20 years while in Northern Ireland the age ranges from 6-13 years with the largest numbers in the 10-12 band.

Finally, there are differences in programming. In the U.S.A. in both playgrounds and camps, formal masterplans are drawn up at the start of the season. In

Northern Ireland decision making of this sort is left to the individual centre leaders. Programme evaluation follows the same pattern as leadership evaluation being more formal and scientifically oriented in America, more subjective in Northern Ireland.

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RETHINKING THE NATURE OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

Padraig Hogan

I

The President of this association explored in some detail in his address yesterday evening the unsteady fortunes of education as a subject of study in Ireland over the last two hundred years. He drew attention to the point that the present century has seen the subject suffer quite sustained bouts of ill-health: ill-health which was often induced by deeply rooted misconceptions among various interested parties in the preparation of teachers. Ireland is not unique in this respect - although her difficulties here may be particularly intriguing to the observer - but in any case, serious attempts have not been lacking at a wider level in the last decade or so, to tackle the misconceptions which attend our understanding of what constitutes the study of education as a thoughtworthy effort. In this connection one can recall the debate between Professors D. J. O'Connor and Paul Hirst in the early and mid-seventies on the nature and scope of educational theory; or the forthright critiques of John Wilson of Oxford in his numerous books from 1972 to 1979; or the arguments of Hartnett and Naish in their jointly edited Theory and the Practice of Education in 1976; or Hirst's most recent re-formulation in the book he edited in 1983: Educational Theory and its Foundation Disciplines.[1] The list here is far from complete. Here in Ireland, at the E.S.A.I. conferences over the past years, a number of papers addressed themselves directly or indirectly to the question of educational studies, or to the related question of educational theory, and a perusal of previous years' proceedings identifies contributions such as that of Desmond Bell at Coleraine, those of Barry Hutchinson and John McAleer at Belfield; of John Kelly at Limerick and at Trinity; my own contributions at Coleraine and Limerick, that of Kevin Williams at Limerick, of Michael Denny at Queen's, and of Professor Sean Fulton and Alex McEwan at Maynooth. Then of course there was Professor Seamas O Suilleabhain's address as guest speaker at Trinity in 1981, provocatively titled "What are Educational Studies?".[2] Another forthright attack on the problematic question of educational theory has just been launched by the previous speaker, Michael McKeown.

Now in tackling my own title: "Rethinking the nature of Educational Studies", I might well proceed by undertaking a review of the literature I have just listed, and attempt to trace my way systematically through all the concerns raised, with a view to establishing eventually the extent to which a satisfactory conception of educational studies has been secured. I don't propose to take this detailed route however, although many of the questions raised and many of the arguments advanced by those I have mentioned will engage my thoughts during this address.

Our time today is limited so my approach must be concise; in places quite direct, though not, I hope, too condensed or abrupt. To begin with, then, I would propose that education, properly viewed, is a distinctive, indeed a unique form of human intercourse. This may sound acceptable enough to most, and to some it may even sound bland or trite. Let me call attention therefore to the emphasis I wish to place on the words "properly viewed", "distinctive" and "unique". I do this because many do not view education as a distinctive or unique form of intercourse, but rather as a "commonsense", or everyday affair where anyone's view is probably as valid as anyone else's. But even among those who would acknowledge that education, properly viewed, is indeed a unique kind of human intercourse - and these would include most people who have a professional involvement in education; teachers, researchers, administrators, etc. - it is not at all clear that any substantial agreement prevails in this group about what, precisely, constitutes the uniqueness of this form of intercourse. Some, for instance, would hold that the uniqueness of education lies in what is described as the transmission of values, others would lay primary emphasis on the special character of education as an agent for social selection or for pursuing egalitarian policies. Further conceptions of the distinctiveness of educational intercourse might stress points as diverse as the maximization of cognitive potential, the conquest of spiritual salvation, the pursuit of national renewal, or the tailoring of abilities to projected manpower requirements. I have mentioned only a few instances here,but the number of candidates for the position of "what constitutes the distinctiveness of education as a form of human intercourse?" could well run to an endless list of competing and often conflicting priorities. If this doesn't surprise us, then neither should we be too surprised that the fortunes of Education as a subject of study have had such a chequered history, or that they still remain attended by widespread ambiguity, and misunderstanding. It is difficult indeed to give conceptual dignity and coherence to a supposedly beneficial pursuit, which is yet largely pervaded in practice by fundamental conflicts in outlook and aspiration, by unacknowledged inconsistencies in discourse and in action, by an adroit, if unwilling acquiescence in the politics of pressure, and not least, by established routines which cannot widely be said to invite the rigours of critical scrutiny.

I think that we have, almost overwhelmingly, become so accustomed to conceiving of education as a vehicle for implementing a preferred world view - a preferred disposition in understanding and in outlook - that we find it very difficult to conceive of the *nature* of the enterprise in any other terms. And how we conceive of the nature of the enterprise is of first importance - indeed of crucial importance - to what we are properly to understand as educational studies. If our basic standpoint is that education is a grand crusade for the minds and hearts of the young, we may easily, and even inevitably, find ourselves engaged in sustained argument, or acrimonious dispute, as to whether this crusade should have a classical or modern character, a "liberal" or technological thrust, a religious or secular ethos, or, dare I say it, a "cognitive" or "affective" emphasis. Now I don't wish to suggest that such disputes have no bearing on the question of education. Clearly, such arguments and disputes are abundant in the pages of numerous textbooks, journals and newspaper articles on education. What I *am* suggesting is that argument of this type - i.e. argument between "isms" - does *not* constitute the distinctive business of education. Neither does any kind of policy based on the political muscle of such arguments - or on ideological compromise - identify what makes education a distinctive form of human intercourse.

I suspect that many will find this point difficult to accept. Indeed I might be tackled forcefully on this issue and invited to look at what characteristically happens in schools and colleges. I might then be asked if I still hold the view that the transmission of "isms" - is not one of the most distinctive marks of what we call education. In answer to this objection I would readily acknowledge that schools do indeed play a decisive role as ideological agents; - in matters religious, moral, intellectual, vocational, and in a more subtle way, in matters political. This role, of explicit agent for a preferred world-outlook, is one, moreover, which most schools actively embrace. My argument is that schools and colleges, insofar as they actively embrace this role, reveal their own participation in a more widespread mis-conception of the nature of education in a human concern.

This mis-conception is so deeply ingrained in our consciousness - indeed in our hearts - in the Western World, in the Eastern World and in much of what we call the "Third World", that its removal may well be attended by the most intractable difficulties, and may at best be accomplished only in a piecemeal manner. Clearly, it is a misconception which is not generally acknowledged as such, and it has behind it, moreover, a truly remarkable weight of authority, tradition and practice. I am inclined to locate the origins of this misconception in the writings of two exceptionally influential thinkers in the western tradition of thought, namely: Plato and Aristotle. I think this point has a crucial importance for how we view education and how we might view educational studies, so permit me a brief elaboration. I hasten to add that I am not attempting, from any sense of assumed superiority, to dismiss Plato and Aristotle as unfortunate blemishes on our inherited modes of thinking. I myself am too deeply in their debt to maintain such a standpoint. Indeed, I am inclined to take the view that it is at those points where Plato and Aristotle were not explicitly dealing with education that the educational potential of their thoughts is at its richest. By contrast, when Plato writes very directly about education in Books II and III of his Republic,[3] a controversial, censorial peremptory note is very much in evidence. No less remarkable are Aristotle's agreement in Books VII and VIII of his *Politics*[4] with Plato's conception of education as a grand crusade for the minds and hearts of the young and his (Aristotle's) insistence on making this crusade one of his first concerns of politics.

Throughout the educational history of the West, many have taken issue with, or supported the goals to which Plato and Aristotle gave priority in their crusade. But both supporters and critics seem to have accepted as entirely natural, the Platonic/Aristotleian conception of education *as a crusade*. This conception was introduced by Plato and Aristotle as if it were not a contestable matter. Accordingly, the manner in which the crusading conception of education thoroughly insinuated itself into the Western tradition of thought with Plato and Aristotle, had the effect of eclipsing - of shutting out in a decisive manner - another conception of education, the outlines of which were only just becoming established at that time. I am referring to the Socratic conception of education, not as a battle for the minds and hearts of the young, but as a *critical conversation* between each new generation and the voices of tradition. How the conception of education is a critical conversation is radically distinct from any crusading conception, and the import of this distinction for the integrity of educational studies, are issues which will engage our attentions in the second part of this address.

II

Let me start the second part with a rather bold suggestion: the question of what it means to us to be human is the most fundamental question for all of us; and what the enterprise of education represents, before anything else, is a special form of intercourse for articulating and engaging this question. If this suggestion sounds like an overture to a bout of abstract philosophical self-indulgence on my part, let me correct this impression immediately by calling attention to the fact that this question: what it means to be human, is already answered, or taken for granted, or otherwise overlooked, in very much of what goes on in schools and colleges every day. In other words, the self-understanding of pupils is continually influenced decisively, although often covertly, by the routines and priorities of life in schools and colleges. The very term "institutionalized values", a term widely used in describing schools and colleges nowadays, illustrates rather well the point I am calling attention to here.

Now, if this enterprise we call education represents a special form of intercourse for engaging the question of what it means to be human, then the crusading conception of education represents a form of engagement where the more important questions are already substantially decided; decided moreover, in accordance with officially approved priorities, or, if you like, "officially institutionalized values". This "already decided" character can be seen not only in the authority structure of schools and colleges but also in most curriculum and examination structures. It should not surprise us greatly therefore, to see why so much of what is experienced in schools and colleges, particularly at post-primary and higher levels, but also in many respects at primary level, is a traffic in ready-made ideas and arguments: ideas and arguments which have been tailored over time to meet the requirements of public examinations. Widely acknowledged as the most major events in the educational calendar, these examinations serve mainly to infuse the self-understanding of pupils at crucial points with an overall feeling of success or failure - a sense of belonging or of rejection. Schools have thus a *very decisive*, if largely unacknowledged, part to play in deciding what it means to be human.

To conceive of education as a critical conversation with the voices of tradition is a very different matter however, precisely because this conception takes a questioning attitude to anything which asserts itself as having already been decided. We can recall that this was the attitude which Socrates took to the established knowledge in the schools of the Greek Sophists. It is not that Socrates was ignorant of this knowledge; rather, he had long considered the sophists' arguments previously himself and had found the self-assured finality of their answers less than satisfactory on many points. More importantly, he had discovered that the most enriching kind of knowledge yields itself to the disciplined thinker to whom every question remains in some real sense an open and an *inviting* question, and who is therefore prepared to forgo the lure of dogmatic certainty. But despite the plentiful examples of this point in the early Socratic dialogues, we have not yet acknowledged on any wide scale that an unyielding certainty on the part of a teacher tends to stimulate nothing as much as an acquiescent credulity on the part of students - a credulity which itself often ages into dogmatism. And when an unyielding certainty on the part of a teacher finds resistance in the minds and hearts of pupils, this resistance widely comes to be regarded as an impertinence.

It is not surpriging therefore that Socrates, in order to encourage the blossoming of a critical but disciplined spirit of enquiry among the young, saw that a special form of intercourse, with a carefully designed *structure*, was a first necessity. Socrates never wrote down, as far as we are aware, the details of this structure.

Plato and Aristotle, for their part, were so preoccupied in their educational writings with what the contents of an acceptable education should be, and with structures for supervising this content, that they either overlooked, or relegated, or otherwise neglected, what was most essential in Socrates as far as education is concerned, namely the structures of critical dialogue.

I have already suggested that this event proved to be a momentous eclipse - albeit an unwitting act by Plato and Aristotle and albeit an unacknowledged eclipse to our own time. Thus, my own effort today represents an attempt to shift our attention away from a drive for ideological supremacy, with the human sciences in a supporting role, and towards an articulation of the structure of critical conversation in a variety of cultural settings, with the human sciences now seeking to play a central disinterested, illuminating role. Some might regard this shift as nothing less than a Copernican attempt to break apart the very modes of thinking which sustain most of our educational procedures and practices at present, including indeed, our educational controversies. The Copernican analogy might be more appropriate however, if the special form of human intercourse to which I am drawing attention - the critical conversation and its underlying structure - were something quite new or undiscovered. The word eclipse, which I have used above, should show that this is not so. The suggested shift in thinking is an attempt to rediscover, to illuminate, and to refine further, something which was in some measure at least, a significant historical reality in Athens, prior to Plato and Aristotle.

In any event it remains the case that the structure of critical dialogue, as a unique form of human intercourse, is something about which we know far too little. Let me suggest that in brief outline, some of the chief characteristics which a critical dialogue might exhibit:

1. An acknowledgement that the other person (or class of pupils) despite his reputation, might have something valid to say.
2. A disciplined willingness to note what strikes one as most significant in what the other says (in his speech or in his actions).
3. A commitment to engage the other person on the noted points, while bringing one's own address or response to these points into play.
4. A commitment to acknowledge the authority of reason, to the best of one's ability, during the course of this engagement.
5. A willingness to place one's own claim to truth at risk.

Now, a conversation, or an educational engagement, which succeeds in enbodying these characteristics, is indeed a unique form of human intercourse. I think its most distinctive mark is that when it is regularly practiced, it gives birth to a particular kind of disposition in the participants, and to a particular kind of ethos, which alone, I would suggest, merits the description "educational ethos". The ethos and disposition in question are unique, in that they are deeply fraternal, and are so in the widest sense. Here I return very briefly to Aristotle, in Book II of his Ethics,[5] where he is not dealing explicitly with education but with the origin of the word ethos itself. A study of his observations at this point shows quite convincingly that the ethos of any particular institution has much less to do with the official priorities of the institution's authorities than it has with what actually arises habitually and naturally among the residents of that institution. In other words an educational ethos, properly so called, is the natural product of an existential commitment, rather than the product of political control. Legislative measures may encourage or hinder such a commitment; they cannot replace it.

I have given a very brief sketch of what I view as the central act of education. I have suggested that a unique ethos can be brought into existence if, and only if, the self-understanding and commitment of educators are equal to the task. I would also like to suggest here that any of the voices of tradition, for instance, the plays of Shakespeare, the world of Parnell and Davitt, the Christian gospels, the mysterious world of physics, the enchanting world of music, the intriguing worlds of foreign languages; all of these and more, can make their address most appropriately through the kind of structure which I have outlined. This brings me directly to my concluding arguments, which concern the central role of the human sciences, to which I referred a little earlier. These concluding remarks may help to show us how much more we need to learn about the structure of critical dialogue in various social settings, and accordingly, how large a field lies ahead for educational studies to explore.

For instance, can much of the poetry of Peadar O Doirnin or Sean O Riordain speak through a teacher in such a manner that it sets underway a critical conversation between teacher, pupils and poet; say in a group of bright seventeen year olds in an all-Irish school? If so, how much of it can, and can the same kind of conversation be achieved with a similar group in an English-speaking school? If not, why not? Are there some schools where these poets could be introduced only at the cost of distorting the conversation to such an extent that the ethos thus brought to life is the very negation of a conversation? Has such an eventuality any major implications for the manner in which curricula are designed and for the choice of curricular materials?

These are only a few of the questions which the teaching of Irish poetry raise for educational studies. These questions raise in turn numerous further questions for enquiry of a psychological and sociological kind about pupils; their abilities, their levels of maturity, their prejudices and sensibilities, their cultural backgrounds, the influences of peers and teachers at school etc. Questions of yet another kind are raised about the subject itself, in this case, poetry. These are curricular questions about how it might most appropriately be brought into the conversation. Still further questions of a philosophical kind are raised concerning the self-understanding of the teacher. The importance of the teacher's self-understanding is particularly illustrated when we recall to mind the five-point outline of the structure of critical dialogue.

I have reserved a special word here for the history of education, because it is a discipline which has increasingly been regarded as peripheral in recent years in the preparation of teachers. An adequate grasp of the nature of educational studies, in terms of the shift in thinking which I have mentioned earlier, should dramatically reverse this. For the history of education provides one of the most fruitful sources for illuminating the kinds of arrests and distortions which the educational conversation has suffered in the past, the kinds of _milieu_ in which it again found life and the kinds of human thought and action which attended these events. Moreover, by awakening our historical consciousness in a disciplined way from its slumbers, and by setting it critically to work, the history of education also discloses itself as a singular liberation from inurement; indeed as an exemplary case of the critical conversation itself.

The major disciplines of education - psychology, sociology, curriculum studies, history and philosophy, can be seen to play a central part in elucidating the structures of the special form of human intercourse which is the primary concern of educational studies. They can succeed in doing so however only insofar as they keep the requirements of the critical conversation itself firmly in view. Accordingly, the literature of these disciplines might centrally include authors such as Erich Fromm, Carl Rogers, Abraham Maslow, Erik Erikson, Ronald Laing, Paulo Freire, Erving Goffmann, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, to give but a brief example. Piaget and Bruner would still be there, but I suspect that writers like Pavlov, Thorndike and Skinner would be relegated to a lower place on the list, as the intercourse which their works describe is not, to my mind, distinctively human.

The integrity of educational studies does not therefore lie in any divergent movement or appeal to the canons of different disciplines of enquiry. Rather the reverse is the case. A confluence of perspectives from the human sciences seeks to illuminate the social contexts where the educational conversation is attempted. This confluence seeks also to bring to fullness our understanding of ourselves and of what speaks through us when we address our students and pupils. A confluence marks the place where tributaries flow together to make a larger stream or river. At the confluence the tributaries intermingle in such a way that it is no longer appropriate to view any part of the larger stream as a product of one tributary rather than another. Yet if one or other tributary were blocked off, the character of the flow in the larger river would be altered. I have suggested that educational studies can properly be viewed as a confluence of perspectives from the human sciences; perspectives which seek to elucidate a particular kind of conversation. What draws the different perspectives together - what gives to educational studies the character of a confluence - is the readiness of the various disciplines of educational studies to hold the conversation itself *resolutely* at the focus of attention. In a similar way, anthropology draws on philosophical, psychological, historical and sociological perspectives in its work of elucidating meaning in life through a study of various cultural settings. Educational studies can perhaps thus be appropriately described as an anthropology concerned with practical ways of responding to an injunction originally voiced by Socrates.

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THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET AGAINST THE MONSTROUS REGIMENT OF THE DISCIPLINES

(THEORISING ABOUT THEORY OF EDUCATION)

Michael McKeown

A consideration of the final examination papers in Colleges and Departments of Education in this country provides evidence of the importance placed upon theory of education in the formation of teachers. It also suggests that the disciplines of education are perceived as nearly congruent with theory of education. This would indicate that the received wisdom of our time decrees that competence in the areas of sociology, psychology, philosophy and history of education affords a conceptual framework of knowledge, and insights which the acolyte teacher can apply to the task in hand of running a classroom.

That this view is not necessarily shared by the practitioners at the chalk face nor indeed by all those engaged in teacher education can hardly be gainsaid. Eric Hoyle[1] has pointed out:

> The rather tenuous link between theory, at least the body of theory purveyed by institutions of teacher education, and practice, has been reported by many writers within the institutions of Teacher Education.

John Wilson,[2] the philosopher, has suggested possibly tongue in cheek:

> Most sensible people (uncorrupted by fashion or institutionalized fantasy) believe that most of what passes for educational theory is demonstrably absurd . . . and that educational practice is largely dominated by fashion, politics and various types of neurosis.

Michael Denny[3] has reported to the 1982 conference of this Association his tentative findings about teachers' judgments of their initial training courses. One of the three related factors which they had considered unsatisfactory was "an apparent over-emphasis on educational theory". A recent article by David Harris[4] would indicate that teachers in England and Wales share the Irish teachers' scepticism about the value of educational theory. Such judgments tend to confirm the anecdotal evidence which leads one to believe that practising teachers and student teachers find it difficult to locate the interface between theory and practice and may indeed doubt whether it exists. Given the present paramountcy conferred on the disciplines, belief in the existence of an interface entails commitment to the proposition that an agglomerate of insights and data culled from the studies of history, sociology, psychology and philosophy and transmitted to a cohort of students lacking real classroom experience will somehow enable them to devise a set of parameters which will guide their practical judgments. To expect belief in such a proposition is to put a great strain upon faith. Indeed the proposition seems so untenable that it is necessary to look for the genesis of such an unlikely notion and consider how it gained such widespread currency.

The Historical Origins of Present Practices

The particular circumstances in which this faith took root and flourished are to be found in a singular conjunction of pressures which developed in the United States and in Britain during the sixties. The interwoven strands of these developments when unravelled reveal a number of discrete considerations. They were:

1) The democratic impulse to provide equality of opportunity through equality of access to a common school experience was increasing the demand for teachers.

2) The same impulse was generating criticism of the existing stratifications within the teaching profession.

3) The heightened demand for teachers was imposing a strain upon the facilities of the traditional teacher training colleges. Their physical expansion raised questions about the role, control, and independence of these free standing monotechnic institutions.

4) Within the teaching force the thrust for enhanced social status with its consequential enhancement of reward was fuelling a demand for full professional recognition which in turn entailed a more theoretically grounded course of study pursued over a longer period of time.

5) The social sciences, those which Philip Howard[5] has described as 'the soft sciences' in that 'the human imponderable plays an important part' were establishing their academic respectability and were thought to have a contribution to make to the practice of teaching.

6) While the Universities had accepted the academic legitimacy of the 'soft sciences' and were happy to accept Training Colleges within their sphere of influence, they were still inhibited by their anti vocational bias from affording recognition to the acquisition of practical skills.

It will be seen that while some of these trends were logically linked others were only linked contingently but they all were coming together in a conflux during that decade. Out of the dialogue which this generated, certain key propositions began to emerge. Perhaps the most coherent statement is to be found in the comments of the former President of Harvard, James B. Conant,[6] in 1963. In his delineation of the essential elements in a teacher training programme he remarked:

> History, philosophy, political science, anthropology and psychology are the academic disciplines that have something to say to future teachers.

While that statement is unexceptional, Conant went on to make the significant but unwarranted jump which seems to have characterized the evolution of this concept in all its stages. He added:

> I believe that the role of the professor of education in the undergraduate training of teachers is at its best that of an intermediary to bridge the ravine that separates theory and practice. If this is true then the professors of educational philosophy, educational history, educational sociology and educational psychology should be professors of philosophy, history, sociology and psychology who have a commitment to the public schools and their improvement.

Here we see an example of what can be called the educators' naturalistic fallacy: "that because student teachers have something to learn from the educational disciplines they should be taught these disciplines".

In Britain the same process of formulation could be observed in the comments of Miss J. D. Browne[7] of Coventry College, addressing the Colson symposium in 1968. The theoretical framework afforded to the teacher she suggested:

> should be concerned in the first place with the norms of a child's development . . . This point will be followed up by the student in individual child studies . . . The structure and culture of the groups to which the child belongs, the family, the

> neighbourhood and the social class . . . will also be a subject of study by all students. The role of the adult including the teacher in the world of childhood will be considered with inevitable attention being given to such ideas as authority, freedom and discipline . . . They will look at some of these questions in time and space for historical and comparative study can throw a new light on present issues in our society.

Miss Browne and President Conant - an ocean apart - were at one in agreeing the importance of psychology, sociology, philosophy and history. The respectability of such a stance is evidenced by the welcome afforded it by Professor Bantock,[8] a somewhat conservative observer, when speaking at the same conference as Miss Browne:

> the sociology of education and then educational philosophy have taken considerable leaps forward as autonomous areas of academic concern : both have achieved a considerable measure of respectability over the last ten years. And this they have gained just in time to meet the new demands of the B.ed. degree.

However, Bantock went on to state explicitly what Conant had left implicit:

> As the separate disciplines of philosophy, psychology, sociology and history develop their literatures, it is going to be quite impossible to maintain that a single teacher can cope with all aspects of the theoretical work.

The direction of the argument is clear. The teaching has to be on the basis of the disciplines. What I am calling the "educators naturalistic fallacy" in this argument is revealed in his following statement that:

> a proper and formal presentation of their specific discipline is essential if the student is to be induced to think fruitfully within it, to handle its concepts and

> convention with any degree of confidence and hence to receive even more the practical benefits of the disciplines. It is not possible to come to terms with the sociology of education in the snippets which might be relevant to some general treatment of the theme of equality of opportunity in education, for instance.

The slippage in logic which Bantock has admitted to his argument is that here he is not talking about initiation into a practical skill but initiation into a particular field of knowledge. He is talking not about training teachers, but about training educational sociologists.

Professor Bantock viewed the matter from what might be termed a traditionalist stance. Eric Robinson,[9] the apostle of the technical tradition in British education and the advocate of relevant approached the question from a near polar ideological position, but yet in 1971, adopted much the same viewpoint as Bantock:

> A modern course in education should be a course in educational science, training the student to formulate and solve educational problems inside the classroom and out. Within such a concept there is no conflict between the training of a teacher and raising his intellectual level. If the teaching of philosophy, psychology and sociology acquires for the student a value and significance in guiding his actions as a teacher he has no need of academic main subjects for his personal education.

Putting aside the merits of his own conclusion - which I would be inclined to agree with - the premises of his argument are illuminating. The teaching of the disciplines is initiation into theory and theory has been elevated to a science. It is quite a jump from the somewhat tentative probings of Conant in '63 to the certainties of Robinson eight years later. It might have been however, not so much the case of a good idea whose time had come, but rather a plausible idea falling into an historical vacuum. That its plausibility had won it a general acceptance within the academic community was reflected in the remarks of Professor Sean Fulton[10] in his inaugural lecture in 1978. In a review of recent developments he could say:

> A professional education which embraces these aims affirms that the product of the course should be an educated person who has achieved competence in both the academic and professional fields. It implies that the pre-service course of teacher education should contain three elements, academic studies (the academic subjects), educational studies (the foundation disciplines - psychology, philosophy, sociology and so on) and professional studies (pedagogical methods and teaching practice). There is little argument that these three elements should be present in all teacher training courses.

Professor Fulton went on, however, to acknowledge that the implications of this position were not necessarily agreed:

> The study of Education is generally presumed to provide the theoretical basis for the professional courses, yet controversy rages not only about its importance but about its legitimacy.

The controversy he located in:

> the danger of Education becoming a group of disjointed and unrelated studies resulting in a neglect of educational issues, which demand the sophisticated integration of insights and comments from a number of disciplines. The appointment of staff well-qualified in the disciplines would tend to make the danger more real.

A Critique of the Disciplinary Approach

It is my thesis to-day that what Sean Fulton perceived as a danger, a hazard, a potentiality has in fact become a reality. Lest I draw upon myself the wrath of my colleagues "well qualified in the disciplines", I will gird myself in a medicine shirt woven by Paul Hirst[11] who has argued:

> The significance of the disciplines for practice is, however, properly indirect. Their findings will promote intelligent practice only if they are incorporated coherently into the web of existing practice, rather than allowed to dominate that practice in a manner that seeks to deny the existence of all the other significant elements both tacit and explicit.

The specific criticisms which can be made of the disciplinary approach to the training of teachers are:

1) The level of abstraction and conceptualization entailed is too far removed from the concreteness of the classroom situation.
2) The concepts which are offered can barely be grasped by students lacking the practical experience of the contexts from which these concepts emerge.
3) Their curricular importance in the Colleges reflects a top down model of knowledge generation and transmission which is singularly inappropriate for teachers struggling with curricula devitalized by this very process.
4) Their discrete approaches to the problems of practice demand a further teaching input to achieve the "sophisticated integration" which Fulton stressed. This further input imposes an unwarranted and probably intolerable burden on Colleges in terms of manpower and administration and time.
5) Since the disciplinary approach reflects a Platonic

view of knowledge, it might be said that a study of the disciplines lies along the upper segments of the Platonic "Divided Line" and this should be studied at a much later point in the professional life of the teacher. The lower segments of that Divided Line - what Plato called the "visible world" - is the proper subject of study in a pre-service course.

Before proceeding to suggest an alternative approach it might be interesting to speculate on the reasons why the disciplinary approach emerged to reconcile the pressures and tensions of the sixties. There are possibly three reasons which are significant here. The first, to which in this forum I will not devote too much space, is concerned with the aggrandizing impulse of domains of knowledge. The "territorial imperative" is as strong in the intellectual world as it is in the animal world. Eric Hoyle has quoted Reiff[12] approvingly:

> professionals tend to dress up common sense as theoretical knowledge in the interests of their own status.

Secondly, and in my view more importantly, the concept of a theory of education is in a pre paradigmatic state. Thomas Kuhn[13] has defined a paradigm in his book The Structures of Scientific Revolution as:

> some accepted examples of actual scientific practice, examples which include laws, theory, application and instrumentation together - provide models from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research.

He argues that

> Acquisition of a paradigm and of the more esoteric type of research it permits is a sign of maturity in the development of any given scientific field.

He goes on to suggest that:

> Paradigms gain their status because they are more successful than their competitors in solving a few problems that a group of practitioners has come to recognize as acute.

He also pointed out:

> In the absence of a paradigm or some candidate for a paradigm all of the facts that could possibly pertain to the development of a given science are likely to seem equally relevant.

The contribution of the disciplines to classroom practice corresponds to the pre paradigmatic condition of a science as defined by Kuhn.

I would suggest that the disciplinary approach will not attain the status of a paradigm for a theory of education and indeed that the study is maybe not yet mature enough to sustain a paradigm. It is undoubtedly true that we are not yet at a stage when we can distinguish between the relevant and the non relevant.

The third reason I adduce for the failure to find the right direction for educational studies might well be derivative from the lack of a paradigm. It was hinted at in a comment of Professor Henry Knox's[14] to a conference of this association some years ago. Reflecting on changes in teacher training he remarked:

> It may be doubted whether the term College of Education since it lacks specificity is a great improvement on the older training college . . . we have no word in common use to denote the specialized study of teacher preparation and simply use the term "education" in an extended way.

I believe that the extension noted by Knox has gone far beyond the needs or purposes of the teacher training institutions. These institutions are as Conant pointed out in the American context concerned with supplying the "public schools". They have little direct role at the present time to play in the training of personnel for the administration of education, the provision of recurrent education, the training of teachers for third level. Nor are our schools likely to have in the foreseeable future a cadre of professional non teaching personnel. It is true that non teaching educational agencies recruit from the ranks of teachers, that adult education organizers will have been teachers, that even indeed some educational administrators might have been teachers but I would suggest that these are recruited on the basis of their experience rather than their initial training. In making the vast polymorphous field of education their concern, the teacher institutions have over-extended themselves and misdirected themselves.

An Alternative to a theory of Education

Their paramount function is to equip suitable applicants to work in schools and to do this effectively; what is required is not a theory of education but a theory of schooling. I know that the whole concept of schooling is one that is now despised as an activity appropriate only for horses but not for children. Between the contempt of the deschoolers like Illich on the one hand and the scorn of the Marxist sociologists such as Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis on the other, schooling has come to be viewed as a degrading manipulative process inconsistent with education. I believe that the time has come to rehabilitate the word and use it as the loadstar to chart our future course. If Colleges accept that their role is to equip teachers to engage in the task of schooling, the theoretical component of the course must then be located in a study of the phenomena of the school. These phenomena are the pupils (and I use that term rather than children as that is the role they play in the school), the curriculum, the physical edifice of the school and its resources, the organic entity of the school and its control, the teaching staff and the families of the pupils.

What I am here suggesting is that a theory of schooling could best derive from a phenomenological mode of knowledge. It has been suggested by Schmitt[15] that a phenomenological statement must satisfy five conditions:

it must be about essences,
it must be self validating,
it must be the result of bracketing experience,
it must be about intentional acts,
it must lay down the criteria of coherence of
    intentional acts.

The peculiar nature of the teaching activity and the difficulty of presenting this activity within a theoretic framework to students makes it particularly amenable to a phenomenological mode of enquiry. Schmidt has added that:

> it is the task of phenonemology to bring to light the criteria implicit in the international acts we perform in everyday life in which we act in, get to know about and learn to master that everyday world which Husseri christened LEBENSWELT (world in which we live). The emphasis here is on putting into words what is commonly and familiarly done without one's knowing how to describe accurately what he is doing.

The contention that such an approach might have a singular relevance for a descriptive and classifacatory theory of the practise of teaching can draw some support from the inadequacy of the neologisms and coinages which have emerged out of the attempts to put "into words what is commonly and familiarly done without one's knowing how to describe accurately what he is doing".

When an old established practice called filling in the gaps surfaces reconstructed as "cloze procedure", when texts on methodology can invoke terms like "withitness" and "flip flops" in an attempt to objectify the intangible, it is little wonder that it breeds that cynicism about terminology which labels such language as educanto. It is again possibly a measure of the immaturity of this area of study that it has yet to find an adequate vocabulary for its purposes. (Consider if you will the elasticity and imprecision of a term such as child centredness. A proclaimed adherence to that principle tells us very little about the teaching procedures which such a principle entails.)

Putting that consideration aside, however, the phenomenological goals identified by Schmitt are surely those very goals which teacher trainers are and should be concerned with. As such, Schmitt's statement about purposes is in its general sense akin to the particularized thrust of Joseph Schwab,[16] when he observes that:

> education is a "practical" science rather than a "theoretical" one in the sense that the central function of its enquiries is to supply the grounds for choice among alternative actions.

A theory of schooling then will be concerned with the dynamics of each of the "essences" in the total frame - the curriculum and so on. It will emerge for the student from his recognition of these, his reflection upon their nature and his attempts to quantify or modify the limits of the effects of the "intentional acts". It will attain the status of a valid theory when the judgment is intuitive or self validating or, to put it another way, when it has been internalized. In this sense pragmatism is the last refuge of the student teacher. "It works : therefore it is true." Pursuing the pragmatic argument one stage further, it does not seem to be necessary to have to adopt a phenomenological stance in order to be able to assent to the proposition that student teachers pursuing issue based multi-disciplinary courses in each of the elements I have mentioned, would emerge with a keener perception of the relevance of theory to practice than is afforded by the emphasis upon the disciplines.

In so far as each is symbiotically linked with the other in a way the disciplines are not, there would be an integrative dimension to each of the courses. In so far as the essences have a concrete reality which will tend to surface above the abstractions of the academics, they will emerge clearly as part of that visible world at the bottom of Plato's Divided Line. Above all they would locate the focus of study on the phenomena of the classroom rather than in the lecture hall, the laboratory or the library.

Since much of the paper has been an argument in favour of a fields of knowledge approach rather than a form of knowledge approach, I hope it would not be considered cavalier to invoke the father of forms, Plato, in support of the argument. You will recall that in the allegory of The Cave, Plato described how those who were released from their chains gained a totally new perception of things. I am suggesting that our students, instead of being kept shackled at the back of the Cave, should be relieved from the chains of the disciplines and brought a bit nearer to the mouth of the cave. While they still lack experience and don't know how to look at things properly, they will never actually see the day-light but they might at least hear and smell the external phenomena. Their sense of the outer reality will be enhanced, and that I suspect is as much as we can hope for.

SUMMARY

The paper refers to the volume of comment querying the relevance of theory of education for the development of the practical skill of classroom teaching. It traces the historical development during the past twenty years of the increasing importance attached to the study of the educational disciplines within the field of theory.

A critique of the utility of the educational disciplines is offered. The author suggests that they reflect the pre-paradigmatic condition of educational studies. It is suggested that a more appropriate model of enquiry would be one concerned with a theory of schooling which employed a phenomenological approach to the problem.

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SOME PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES RELATING TO THE IDENTIFICATION OF EDUCATION WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF REASON

Peter Joseph Gargan

INTRODUCTION

The idea of education as the "development of reason" has received widespread attention and allegiance among philosophers of education in recent years. The three volume work Education and the Development of Reason edited by R. F. Dearden, P. H. Hirst and R. S. Peters[1] has contributions from several British philosophers of education. This work represents an attempt to establish some basic ideas about what is essential to an educational process, ideas which can serve as reference points in educational debate and planning: the most basic and general of these being, of course, the development of reason.

The attempts of these philosophers must be viewed in the context of the many curriculum innovations of recent decades, the various additions justified under such headings as "needs-based curricula", "education for life" etc. Their stress on "basic ideas" has earned them the appropriate label of "essentialists". The essentialists are, for the most part, sceptical of the various innovations, seeing them as unsystematic and based on shaky foundations. Their emphasis is on basing curriculum policy on well established public traditions or "forms of knowledge", for only these can provide the criteria according to which claims to truth can be appraised. The essentialists are generally against the idea of child-centredness (or what I prefer to call pupil-centredness). Their stress is on the content of the forms of knowledge to be handed on and learned. Hirst insists on the necessity of formal learning in all the forms.[2]

I think it is fair to say that certain basic ideas which can serve as reference points in educational debate are necessary and that without these discussion and planning will be confused. In this and in accepting that education is especially concerned with the development of reason I am in agreement with the essentialists. My conclusions, however, are to quite an extent at variance with theirs. In this paper I will argue that the essentialists' almost undivided attention to one aspect of reason lends undue plausibility to their conclusions and that the validity of their emphasis depends on acceptance of a particular view of reason. I hope to show that focussing on another aspect of reason makes this clear.

Although the essentialists have stressed their concern to ground their notion of education on the idea of the development of reason they have confined their discussion almost exclusively to one aspect of reason, that which is concerned with truth - with what is the case, i.e. the theoretical aspect.[3] Now many philosophers of reason have thought of it as having a "practical" aspect. We can number Aristotle and Kant among these. Recent champions of the idea include R. M. Hare[4] and Roy Edgley.[5] What is meant by saying that reason can be practical? Basically, that a question of the form what ought to be done? and not just questions about what is the case can be settled rationally, by reason. Or, put another way, that reason is active, i.e., it can operate in what we do in actions and not just in judgments about what is the case. The neglect of this aspect of reason in discussion on education can be explained or justified in either of two ways, (i) by rejecting the idea of reason's being practical or (ii) by accepting the idea but holding the view that education is not concerned with the practical aspect of reason.[6] In refuting the first of these positions I hope to show that the second is also based on a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of reason. I will argue that not only can reason be practical but that theoretical reason itself has a practical aspect. I will then discuss briefly the educational implications of my argument.

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL REASON

One philosopher who held that reason cannot be practical was David Hume.[7] Reason, according to him, is perfectly inert - it cannot operate in action or in emotion. Reason is the discovery of truth and falsehood.[8] I will summarise Hume's arguments briefly because (i) they represent such a powerful, tough-minded statement against the idea of reason's being practical and (ii) the assumptions and emphases of the essentialists must ultimately derive from a denial of the possibility of reason's being practical or at least from a view that it is essentially theoretical.

In claiming that reason is the discovery of truth Hume builds his case on his famous distinction between "representatives" and "original existences". Representatives include verbal symbols, concepts, propositions - things which can be said. They are distinguished from things in the real world, i.e. original existences. These include natural events, actions, psychological states, etc. Reason is representative. Its products represent or misrepresent things in the real world. A reason is a fact or truth and what follows from a reason must have a truth-value, a conclusion which is true or false.

Actions are original existences, they cannot be inferred or be conclusions in an argument, they cannot be true or false. Therefore there cannot be reasons for doing anything.[9]

This appears an extraordinary denial of practical reason. For what are we to make of practical judgments, judgments about what ought to be done? Are these not representative? Can they not follow or be inferred from others in an argument? e.g. "You should tell the truth on this occasion" following from "One should never hide the truth on this matter". But Hume has a strong argument against acceptance of these appearances. He apparently sees[10] the problem as resulting from connecting the terms "practical" and "judgment". If these judgments are genuinely practical, i.e. logically related to action, then a reason for the practical judgment that something ought to be done would also be a reason for doing that thing. But there cannot be reasons for doing anything because actions cannot be inferred, they cannot be true or false, they cannot be conclusions in an argument. These judgments, then, are not practical at all.

If Hume is right in claiming that there cannot be a reason for an original existence then how are we to deal with the case of believing something? Believing is a psychological state, an original existence. If there cannot be reasons for believing something to be the case Hume's arguments can be used by extension against theoretical reason. Hume avoids this reduction ad absurdum in his distinction between "what is believed" and believing that thing, referring to belief in the Appendix to the Treatise as a kind of feeling.[11] But if there can be a reason for what is believed, i.e. a theoretical judgment, is not this also a reason for believing the judgment? For if this is not the case, if

Hume is right in claiming that a reason can only be a reason for another fact - representative, then one could not have a reason. For the only way in which one could have reasons is to have them for believing, thinking, doing things, i.e., for original existences. What sense could we make of the idea of reason as a "human possession" or endowment if we could not have reasons for anything?

The phrase "a reason for" is usually followed by such verbs as believing, thinking, feeling, doing. In answer to the question, for example, "What is your reason for thinking that it will rain?" I may answer, "the fact that it is overcast". The reason is said to be a fact (as Hume views it), but it is said to be a "reason for" thinking something - an original existence. It appears also that it is my thinking something that makes the fact a reason for something else. In other words reason is not seen as operating in the fact itself but in my thinking. The reason, which is a fact, appears to have a normative bearing on what I think. The fact that it is overcast justifies my thinking that it will rain. We need to take a closer look at the case of believing or thinking something and at what the relationship between what is believed and believing that thing.

The question to be faced is whether there is a necessary connection between the theoretical judgment and believing the judgment. In attempting to resolve this problem I will draw on Edgley's[12] arguments and his "two lists" of statements. List A contains truths of reason, e.g. "p implies q", "q follows from p". The statements in List B contain both evaluative and psychological concepts, e.g. "I believe that p implies q", "It is inconsistent to think that p and at the same time that not-q", "The fact that p justifies the belief that q". Is there a necessary connection between the statements in List A and those in List B. We are inclined to answer in the affirmative despite the occurrence of concepts in the second list which do not occur in the first. For a start it would be contradictory to assert A and deny B. D. Pole[13] argues that truths of logic must bear on one's thinking at some point. They bear upon it normatively. Edgley[14] argues that the meaning or force of any expression is a function not only of its content but also of what it is used to do, e.g. express a person's belief. And he argues that, taking any statement, any form of words expressing something which is true or false,

> its basic use is to express or state the user's belief, conviction, or opinion . . . thus understanding the meaning of, e.g. "It is raining" involves knowing that these words alone, without the addition of the word believe or any of its synonyms or near-synonyms can be properly used to state, express or communicate one's belief that it is raining. 15

Having seen how the problem of the psychological concepts can be resolved we can see how normative notions occur in List B. Basically what I think may be right or wrong. It is logically possible for me to think inconsistent things but it is logically impermissible. This is the normative bearing of truths of logic. It appears then, that despite Hume's conviction that there can be reasons for original existences, e.g. for thinking or believing something, and that the notion of "a reason for" something is basically a normative one. Hume demanded that original existences be inferrable for them to have logical relations. But the logical relations required are those of consistency - my thinking should be consistent with the facts.

The significance of these points is that they show the normal context of reason is one's thinking, believing, doing etc. What conforms or is contrary to reason, is reasonable or unreasonable, is something thinking that p implies q. The fact that it is overcast is the reason for my thinking that it will rain - the fast functions as a reason for my thinking something, it justifies my thinking it. If nobody thought that it was going to rain the fact would not function as a reason for anything.

Reason, therefore operates in what one thinks, in what one believes, in what one does - in original existences. In this sense it is practical, it operates in one's reasoning. Reason is operative not in propositions but in someone's asserting them, not in conclusions but in someone's drawing conclusions. Facts in themselves are not reasonable or unreasonable (i.e. do not have reason operating in them). It is our believing or disbelieving them that may be so.

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

What I have said so far can be summarised as follows:

(i) we can see how reason can be practical: that it is active, it operates in what we do.

(ii) Theoretical reason has a practical aspect, that it is active, i.e. it operates in what we do, our thinking, believing, reasoning, etc.

It follows therefore that in talking about the development of reason we are talking about the development of both aspects - and in talking about the development of theoretical reason we must remember that it has a practical aspect. We are talking about the development of the pupil's use of theoretical reason, which implies his independent use. This means something more than the acquisition of facts about what is the case, and of the criteria for testing whether statements are true or false. This is not to deny that the latter have an essential role in the development of reason. Neither do I suggest that they are not exercises of reason. But what is at issue is the development of reason, the developed exercise of reason, not an exhibition of the minimal criteria of the exercise of reason.

A pupil may acquire several true facts in a wide range of subjects, may acquire criteria for appraising them as true without himself becoming genuinely involved in what he is "doing" - perhaps it might be more accurate to say "what is being done to him". Such cases are not hard to come by: the pupil who is "well prepared" by his teacher for an examination, who can regurgitate the facts about what is the case and the criteria for appraising them, can go through the motions without ever "getting into" the thing. Such a pupil is fulfilling the minimum criteria of Hirst's idea of the use of reason. Such an absurdity as calling this the "development of reason" arises because of the failure to recognise the practical aspect of it, the aspect which demands genuine involvement.

At the beginning I pointed out that the essentialists are generally against pupil-centredness - their primary focus is on the content to be learned rather than on what the pupil does. Now this obviously should be the case if the development of reason is to be identified as the acquisition of truth. But recognition of the practical aspect, by definition, shifts our concern to what the pupil does. What we are now emphasising is an active agent. An education of reason must be pupil-centred in the sense that he must be involved, that it is the use of his reason that is to be developed. For passive acquisition of the products of other's use of reason cannot pass as the development of his own in anything but a very limited sense. It is also easy to see how one should insist on formal learning in all the forms of knowledge if an education of reason is identified with the acquisition of truth. But in recognising the practical aspect what we are emphasising is not extensive acquisition but that his own use of reason develops. Our concern with the forms of knowledge is how they facilitate the latter. It cannot be assumed that the more forms that are encountered, or the more facts that are learned, the more likely it will be that his use of reason will develop, particularly if extensive acquisition hinders genuine involvement.

It may seem surprising that I have not brought up the question of moral education especially since discussion of practical reason normally occurs in the context of actions of a moral or prudential significance. But what I am particularly concerned to show in this paper is that theoretical reason itself has a practical aspect. But the question may be used to bear out what I have said. Hirst [16] attempts to deal with moral learning by making it a matter of learning about what is the case. (He talks[17] about critical tests of truth for moral judgments, though these are not as developed as in other disciplines.) Now this of course proves a great difficulty. For if anything demands genuine involvement from the agent reason in moral matters must. We could not, for example, accept that an agent had settled his moral questions by arriving at a set of judgments if he continually failed to act in accordance with them.

CONCLUSION

If we accept the basic idea of the development of reason as essential in an educational process we must be very clear about what we mean by reason, and its developed exercise. An over emphasis, we have seen, may seriously distort our educational conclusions. I have taken one aspect of reason, the practical aspect, and shown how important recognition of it is in discussion on education. It prompts us to focus on what the pupil does, on an active independent agent; that the reason which is our concern is his reason and how it operates in what he does. Failure to recognise this aspect may result in our talking, not about the development of reason at all, but simply about learning the products of others' use of reason.

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17 Ibid.

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PREDICTING SUCCESS IN FIRST UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS IN HOME ECONOMICS COLLEGES OF EDUCATION

Eamonn O Baiollain

Introduction

A review of some available research findings indicated that the challenge of predicting academic success in third level education is very demanding and may not be very rewarding.

Prediction studies invariably use correlational measures. Ideally, one would look for studies which correlate independent variables with the final examination for the award of degree, diploma or certificate qualification, but this may not be required because it would appear that where significant relationships are established with success in first year examinations, the expectation is that the subjects will successfully complete the course of studies (Nevin, 1974; Balser, 1976; Muia and Bleismer, 1976).

Review of Literature

A variety of independent variables have been used as predictors. Positive relationships between entrance examination results and the results in first university examinations were reported for Australian universities by Saunders (1948), but the extent of the relationships was not such as to give grounds for predictive complacency. Powell (1973) reported that the best predictive measure for a sample of 2,791 students, who entered five Scottish universities, was the average of the four highest grades attained in the Scottish Certificate of Education examination which were weighted according to a points score that reflected the quality of the grades obtained. Humphreys (1977) in a study carried out on a sample of 282 entrants to University College, Cork, in Autumn 1976 also found that the single best predictor of subsequent performance in the first university examination was the points score in the Leaving Certificate examination. Moran and Crowley (1978) found that variations of the points system made little or no difference to variance in the dependent variable, thus suggesting the relative stability of the cumulative Leaving Certificate examination result as a predictor of first university examinations in Cork.

Performance on scholastic aptitude tests at point of entry was found by Powell (1973) to be a very poor predictor of performance in university, and their introduction, even as a supplementary measure to the Scottish Certificate of Education results, was not justified. Test scores on Heim's A. H. 5 Aptitude test were very poorly related to subsequent university performance in Cork (Humphreys, 1977).

Reading measures would appear to have a worthwhile potential to predict academic success at third-level from a review of American research findings (Halfter and Douglass, 1958; Bednar and Weinberg, 1970; Tillman, 1972; Fairbanks, 1974).

Research Methodology

This paper reports findings from research carried out in the Home Economics colleges of education in the Republic of Ireland - St. Angela's College, Sligo, and

St. Catherine's College, Dublin - which investigated the potential of a number of independent variables, individually and combined, to predict success in the First University Examinations at the colleges (O Baiollain, 1982).

The researcher had available to him the entrance order of merit from which students were allotted places in the respective colleges as well as the subject grades awarded in the Leaving Certificate Examination to the entrants. Two reading tests and an intelligence test were administered to 105 students which was a 91% sample of the student-population intakes to the colleges in the 1977-'78 and 1978-'79 academic years (N = 115).

The Nelson-Denny Reading Test, Form D (Brown, 1973) yielded measures of vocabulary, comprehension, total reading competency computed from the vocabulary and comprehension tests, and reading rate. The Marino Graded Word Reading Scale (O Suilleabhain, 1970) was a test of oral word recognition and pronunciation which reported results in reading ages. The Advanced Progressive Matrices Set II (Raven, 1965) measured the intelligence of students non-verbally. The various independent variables were correlated with the First University (Summer) Examinations. The Colleges were dealt with separately for the purposes of predicting first university examination results because the degree courses offered in the colleges were dismissal ar. Different universities were responsible for validating the end of year examinations: University College, Galway, in the case of St. Angela's and Dublin University in the case of St. Catherine's.

The diverse nature of the various independent variables demanded that a variety of correlational procedures be employed, namely product-moment, Spearman rank-order and tetrachoric. The regression of the first university examination results on suitable independent variables was used to yield predictive equations of the linear type. Finally, multiple correlation was used to maximise relationships and to assess the success or otherwise of predicting success in the first university examinations.

Findings

The section will report (a) correlation studies which will be followed by a summary discussion; (b) regression studies, and (c) multiple prediction.

(a) Correlation Studies

Table 1 gives correlations between entrance order and first university examination results in the colleges.

TABLE 1 Spearman Rank Correlations Between Entrance Order and First University Examinations At Home Economics Colleges of Education

	(i) St. Angela's (N = 47)	(ii) St. Catherine' (N = 52)
Education	0.24	0.22
Science	0.38 (P = 0.0080)	0.18
Home Management	0.23	0.20
Food Studies	0.27	0.16
Dress and Design	0.38 (P = 0.0080)	-0.01
Aggregate	0.34 (P = 0.0188)	0.19

The entrance order of subjects to St. Angela's was moderately but significantly associated with their end of first year examination results in Science, Dress and Design, and Aggregate, whereas the entrance order of subjects to St. Catherine's was not significantly associated with end of first year results.

Tables 2 and 3 report the significant relationships between Leaving Certificate grades and first university examinations in the colletes.

TABLE 2 Tetrachoric Correlations between Leaving Certificate Grades and First University Examination Results at St. Angela's

	Education	Science	Home Management	Food Studies	Dress & Design	Aggregate
Gaeilge		0.57 (P=0.0150)				
English	0.44 P 0.05					
Modern/ Classical Languages		0.71 (P=0.0042)			0.34 (P=0.0250)	0.59 P=0.0150)
Mathematics/ Science						
History/ Geography						
Home Economics						

TABLE 3 Tetrachoric Correlations Between Leaving Certificate Grades and First University Examination Results at St. Catherine's

	Education	Science	Home Family & Society	Food Technology	Dress & Design	Aggregate
Gaeilge						
English						
Modern/ Classical Languages	0.66 (P=0.0052)					
Mathematics/ Science				0.54 (P=0.0128)	0.37 (P=0.0046)	0.47 (P=0.0272)
History/ Geography						
Home Economics			0.55 (P=0.0286)			

Only Modern/Classical languages yielded correlations approaching the substantial: 0.71 with Science at St. Angela's (Table 2) and 0.66 with Education at St. Catherine's (Table 3). Clearly Modern/Classical languages were best predictors at end of year examinations at St. Angela's: they correlated significantly with Science (0.71), Dress and Design (0.34) and the Aggregate Result (0.59) (Table 2). Mathematics/Science grades were the best predictors of end of year results at St. Catherine's: they correlated significantly with Food (0.54), Dress (0.37), and the Aggregate (0.47) (Table 3).

The Leaving Certificate grades in Gaeilge, English, History/Geography and Home Economics were found to have little or no potential for predicting end of year examination results at the colleges. Attainment in Home Economics as measured by Leaving Certificate grades might have been expected to correlate significantly with end of first year attainment at college in the Home

Economics subjects of Food, Dress and Home Management, but such did not prove to be the case. The correlation of 0.55 reported between Home Economics Leaving Certificate grades and results in Home, Family and Society at St. Catherine's (Table 3) was clearly influenced by the strong sociological content area of the course. It was also apparent that the importance given generally to English in the selection of entrants to the colleges was not justified by the potential of the Leaving Certificate English grades to predict end of first yer examination results at college.

Table 4 sets out the predictive potential of the cumulative Leaving Certificate results.

TABLE 4 Product-Moment Correlations Between Leaving Certificate Points Aggregate from Best Six Subjects and First University Examination Results at the Home Economics Colletes

	(i) St. Angela's	(ii) St. Catherine's
Education	0.54(P 0.0001)	0.18
Science	0.45(P 0.0025)	0.37 (P 0.01)
Home Management	0.32(P 0.05)	0.13
Food Studies	0.43(P 0.005)	0.03
Dress & Design	0.27(P. 0.05)	-0.02
Aggregate Result	0.48(P 0.001)	0.17

The cumulative result from six Leaving Certificate subjects was moderately predictive at end of year attainment at St. Angela's whereas only one significant correlation was reported for St. Catherine's. When it was noted that the overall Leaving Certificate levels from best six subjects of testees at St. Catherine's were superior to those at St. Angela's at the 0.05 level approximately, it was open to speculate that the contrasting predictive potential of achievement in best six Leaving Certificate subjects may have been reflecting the differential ratios of theory to practical in the end of year examinations at the colleges (a 60 : 40 ratio in favour of theory in the examinations of St. Angela's contrasted with a similar ratio in favour of the practical at St. Catherine's).

The validity coefficients for the colleges in respect of the reading variables and intelligence are detailed in Tables 5 and 6.

TABLE 5 Product-Moment Correlations Between Measures of Reading and Intelligence and First University Examination Results at St. Angela's

	Vocabulary	Comprehension	Total	Reading Rate	Marino	A.P.M. (11)
Education	0.38 (P 0.01)	0.47 (P 0.001)	0.39 (P 0.01)		0.36 (P 0.025)	0.29 (P 0.05)
Science						
Home management	0.33 (P 0.025)					
Food Studies						0.34 (P 0.025)
Dress & Design						
Aggregate			0.33 (P 0.05)		0.29 (P 0.05)	

TABLE 6 Product-Moment Correlations Between Measures of Reading and Intelligence and First University Examination Results at St. Catherine's.

	Vocabulary	Comprehension	Total	Reading Rate	Marino	A.P.M. (11)
Education	0.28 (P 0.05)		0.29 (P 0.05)	0.30 (P 0.05)		2.8 (P 0.05)
Science		0.26 (P 0.05)	0.29 (P 0.05)			0.37 (P 0.05)
Home, Family & Society						
Food Technology				-0.25 (P 0.05)		
Dress & Design						
Aggregate					0.27 (P 0.05)	

Twenty-five percent of the relationships between the research test variables and the end of year examination results in each college were significant at or beyond the 0.05 level. The coefficients were moderate to low, ranging in absolute size from 0.47 to 0.29 at St. Angela's (Table 5) and 0.37 to 0.29 at St. Catherine's (Table 6).

Education results were the most often predicted at both colleges. The First University Aggregate Result at St. Angela's was predicted by Total (V + C) test (0.33; P 0.05) and the Marino Scale (0.29; P 0.05). The First University Aggregate Result at St. Catherine's was predicted by the Marino Scale (0.27; P 0.05). Though these coefficients were low, they are important because the Examination is awarded on the aggregate result.

Summary Discussion

An assessment of the potential of the various predictors in the Home Economics colleges points to the greater likelihood of better prediction of the first university examination results at St. Angela's. Six variables correlated significantly with the First University Aggregate at St. Angela's: entrance order of merit (0.34) (Table 1); Leaving Certificate grades achieved in Modern/Classical languages (0.59) (Table 2); the Leaving Certificate points aggregate from best six subjects (0.48) (Table 4); attainment on the Total Nelson-Denny Test (V + C) (0.33), and Marino reading age (0.29) (Table 5). In the case of St. Catherine's, only two variables correlated significantly with the First University Aggregate Result: Leaving Certificate grades in Science (0.47) (Table 3) and Marino reading ages (0.27) (Table 6).

The correlation of the Leaving Certificate points aggregate from best six subjects yielded contrasting results for the colleges. The cumulative Leaving Certificate result correlated significantly with each subject examined at the end of first year in St. Angela's whereas only one significant relationship was reported in th- case of St. Catherine's (Table 4).

Modern/Classical languages at St. Angela's (Table 2) and grades achieved in Science subjects at St. Catherine's (Table 3) were found to be deserving of extra weighting in the selection of entrants to the respective colleges.

The measure of non-verbal intelligence, Advanced Progressive Matrices Set II, did not correlate significantly with the First University Examination Aggregate Results at the colleges (Tables 5 and 6). It was also apparent from Tables 5 and 6 that the reading variables tended to predict end of first year results in Education at St. Angela's, and Education and Science results in St.

Catherine's. The prediction pattern derived from the reading variables was certainly no less sketchy for the colleges than that provided by other categories of predictors.

The significant relationship between the Nelson-Denny Total Test scores and First University Examination Aggregate Result at St. Angela's (Table 5) was more of academic interest than of practical importance because the independent variable was a weighted composite of vocabulary and comprehension test scores which required 35 - 40 minutes to derive. On the other hand, the significant relationships between Marino reading ages and the First University Aggregate Results at both colleges (Tables 5 and 6), though of a low order, were practicable because they were derived from an ordered arrangement of words from age-level 12 upwards of the Scale, administered according to a phoentic marking scheme in under 5 minutes (O Baiollain, Chapter 15, 451-452; Appendix 16, 952-957). It was therefore decided to investigate the regression of one on the other.

b) Regression Studies

The regression of the Aggregate Results on the Marino reading ages yielded the following equations and prediction ranges (Table 7).

TABLE 7 Regression of First University Examination Aggregates on Marino Graded Word Reading Scale for (i) St. Angela's and (ii) St. Catherines

Regression Equation	Prediction Range	Percentage of Subjects who scored within the Prediction Range
	(i)St. Angela's	
$Y^1=29.58 + 12.916X$	185-288	94
	(ii)St. Catherine's	
$Y^1=208.63 + 5.560X$	275.320	61

The Marino Graded Word Reading Scale could therefore be recommended as an effective predictor of the First University Examination at St. Angela's, and a less effective but still satisfactory predictor of success at St. Catherine's.

(c) Multiple Prediction

The usefulness of multiple predictors in the O Baiollain study was explored in relation to (i) four reading variables - Nelson-Denny Vocabulary, Comprehension and Reading Rate Subtests, and the Marino Graded Word Reading Scale - and (ii) twelve variables, which in addition to the four reading variables included Advanced Progressive Matrices Set II, the Leaving Certificate points aggregate from best six subjects, Leaving Certificate grades awarded in Gaeilge, English, Modern/Classical Languages, Mathematics/Science, History/Geography and Home Economics. Multiple correlation coefficients with the First University Examination Aggregates at the colleges are reported in Table 8.

TABLE 8 Multiple Correlations of (i) Four Reading Variables with First University Examination Aggregates at (a) St. Angela's and (b) St. Catherines

	(i) 1.2345		(ii) 1.23 . . . 13	
(a) St. Angela's	0.35	(P = 0.0066)	0.69	(P 0.00006)
(b) St. Catherine's	0.39	(P = 0.0046)	0.54	(P 0.00006)

As expected, the use of multiple predictors strengthened the validity coefficients for reading, and the twelve-variable prediction maximised the correlation with Aggregate Results to 0.69 at St. Angela's and 0.54 at St. Catherine's. The four-variable reading coefficients only marginally improved on the amount of variance in the First University Examination Aggregates which had been previously accounted for by the single-variable, Marino reading age (cf. Tables 5 and 6). The substantial amounts of variance not accounted by the twelve-variable correlation (53% at St. Angela's and 71% at St. Catherine's) highlighted the difficulty of predicting success in the First University Examinations.

Conclusion

The research findings reported correlations with the end of first year examinations at the colleges which were generally at a low to moderate order. It emerged clearly that the prediction of academic success was specific to the various courses and to each college. The need to replicate prediction studies in other institutions is obvious.

The findings also indicated that reading measures have a worthwhile potential to predict success at third-level. While the use of Marino reading age in a prediction equation relating to first year university examinations is certainly contrary to expectation, it should lead to further investigation into the usefulness of the Marino Scale with other testees.

Substantial amounts of variance in the dependent variable, first university examination results, were left unaccounted by the multiple correlation involving twelve variables. It must be noted that the myriad of non-academic factors which militate against good prediction were not formally considered in the research.

It was concluded that prediction of academic success is a very demanding and complex area of research, and it would appear utopian to expect that any given combination of independent variables, not to speak of one of them, will fully predict academic success.

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IMAGINATION : THAT ONE TALENT THAT LIES BURIED

Séamas V. Ó Súilleabháin

1 INTRODUCTION

One often comes across the word 'imagination' in an educational context. There is seldom much more than that. The power and implications of this human capacity are seldom analysed or developed. This, I suggest, is regretable. We have been given this talent and yet we leave it buried. We do not use it to the full. Because that is so I suggest we become locked within a rigid system with very high wall boundaries. Imagination is one of those neglected avenues which, also, leads towards the perception of meaning and truth. In this short paper I would like to develop some points which might suggest a new appraisal of the imagination in the education process. Before doing that may I read two quotations.

The first is a comment by Gerald Haigh. This appeared in the Times Educational Supplement of the 30th December, 1983. From a much longer article I take the following:

> I suggest that what we need to do in 1984, of all years, is look again at what we mean by 'teaching' and 'education' and then vow with solemnity and vehemence that we will resist all further attempts on the part of the people with briefcases to subvert the transcendental purposes of our calling.
>
> The point is that education is not essentially (my italics) about systems at all. It is concerned with imagination and creativity. The prime purpose of the teacher is to liberate the imagination so that pupils may grow and mature as creative and autonomous people. Good teachers have always been able to do this and will continue to do so regardless of where they

> find themselves. What is important about a teacher is not what system he works in, or uses, or believes in, but whether he can, at that narrow glinting point where all the systems and methods converge, strike sparks from the pupils around.

Education is about 'sparks' and not about 'systems'. I would also like in opening this paper to give you a second quotation. This time it is from Susanne K. Langer in her book *Problems of Art*, she writes:

> Technique is the means to the creation of expressive form, the symbol of sentience; the art process is the application of some human skill to this essential purpose. The making of this expressive form is the creative process that enlists a man's utmost technical skill in the service of his utmost conceptual power, imagination. 1

The point of these two quotations is to give us the opportunity 'to jump over the wall' and then having escaped to realize our freedom.

No doubt any national system of education will have high on its list such things as accountability, advisory committees, panels of experts, administrative simplicity and five year plans. Given the complexity of our times any responsible state agency must have regard to these things. What I am putting forward, however, is a plea that, on the one hand, the system does not introde too much within the real live classroom and secondly a plea to teachers to use their creative imagination to seize upon whatever opportunities there are to liberate themselves and their pupils from whatever form of pre-packaged education they are asked to dispense.

There is an interesting observation by Liam Hudson in his book *The Cult of the Fact*, he writes:

> In the course of the last six chapters I have edged towards the view that, in any educational

> establishment worthy of the name, malleable youth is coerced to think in ways of which their teachers approve. If there are one kind of excellence in matters of the mind, such a process would be uncontroversial. Training a man's mind would be like training him to lift weights: it could be done more or less well. It was just this athletic analogy that occurred to Francis Galton - a contemporary of Acton's and the founding father of mental testing. It has remained lodged in the imaginations of mental testers ever since. 2

And again discussing his own university education he notes:

> Excellence was defined in terms of verbal precision; meaning was defined whether in terms of public fact or of formal logic. Such a system ensures that any examination of general and imprecise ideas is viewed as bogus, or self-evidently mistaken. 3

One further point, R. D. Laing in his work, The Politics of Experience, had this to say regarding the thought of Jules Henry:

> It is Henry's contention that education in practice has never been an instrument to free the mind and the spirit of man, but to bind them . . . Children do not give up their innate imagination, curiosity, dreaminess easily. You have to love them to get them to do that. Love is the path through permissiveness to discipline; and through discipline, only too often, to betrayal of self. What school must do is to induce children to want to think the way school wants them to think. 4

These few observations point to a current, narrow and highly particularised view of excellence, of what it means to be educated. These observations by people who themselves are in the tradition of what we might call academically respectable disciplines point to the singular lack of imagination, flexibility, creativity that seems to be part and parcel of our system.

At present the system is becoming more so than less so. For instance accountability cannot measure imagination.

It can measure specified targets, skills, products and results. The present discussion upon criterion - referenced testing in England, an offshoot to my mind of accountability, the search for measurable outcomes, is putting emphasis upon factual knowledge, skills, and set targets for each to reach. Further, one notes an increasing move towards multiple-choice questions and mechanical, or machine marking, of tests. In the languages there is a tendency to move towards oral competence as distinct from the more expressive forms of the language to be found in literature. I am not condemning these moves as they do have some legitimacy. What I am saying is that imagination, that one talent that lies buried, looks as if it is going to remain buried.

I have spoken at some length elsewhere about the current emphasis upon content in our school programmes. Obviously there must be content; we are the inheritors of a very rich tradition. If one reflects on that heritage it soom becomes clear that some of the greatest contributions to that tradition were themselves people of imagination for instance Homer, Plato, Virgil, Galileo, Michael Angelo, Copernicus, Shakespeare, Beethoven, Freud, Kierkegaard, Einstein and Schweizer, to name only a few. Every great human advance begins with reflection - reflection upon some aspect of the human condition or some aspect of the wider reality. That reflection is generally helped along by the free play of the mind moving from one thought to another, from one image to another. It is this freedom from conventional boundaries and from fixed positions which allows a new thought to come forth. Great thoughts originate with great minds. While conceding that point, however, let us not forget that we all have this 'imaginative' talent. In each life, especially during the period of formal education, there must be time for reflection, for contemplation; otherwise we become dried up dessicated people. In our professional work as educators we should try to emulate Coleridge who united, as few others have, a poetic power of reconstructing experience in its fullness and uniqueness with a philosophic power of creative speculation.[5]

In my own case I have found great mental excitement in using my imagination. This is particularly true in two dimensions. One is reflecting on the world of nature especially the sea with its restlessness, its hidden power, its mystery. The other, quite different, is in making up problems. This is not at all the same as asking yourself questions or solving problems which others present.

What then is the nature of this talent which I suggest lies so often hidden and unused and bringing us in no return?

II THE NATURE OF IMAGINATION

1 Terms

When we come to examine the situation we find a number of terms all springing from the same etymological background. We find 'image', 'imaging', 'imagery', 'imagining' and 'imagination'. I will dispose of the first three straight away. 'Image refers to a 'likeness', a 'representation' in the mind but not necessarily visual. 'Imaging' refers to the activity of having images. It is a word not found in every dictionary. 'Imagery' refers to images in general, to mental pictures, or fitures of speech. Let it be further noted that 'image' is derived from the Latin 'imago' through Old French. An interesting feature is the basic link between 'image', 'imaging' and our word 'imitate'. These two words appear to have a common root in a distant Indo-European origin although recent language experts consider this sharing somewhat dubious.

We recognise that 'to imitate' means to resemble someone in one way or another.

The other terms directly related to our first three, that is 'image', 'imaging' and 'imagery' are 'imagining' and 'imagination'. These terms are wider in scope and go beyond an 'image' to involve 'supposition', or a new construction.

Looking at the overall context in which these words are used we can see two rather general senses:

(1) the general power or process of having mental images. In this sense it seems better to use the terms 'imaging' and 'imagery' rather than 'imagining' or 'imagination';

secondly,

(2) the process of forming new ideal combinations which depend on the relative absence of objective restrictions, and the consequent freedom of subjective selection.

Bearing these two points in mind it is this relative freedom which forms the connecting link between imagination in the sense of imagery and imagination in the sense of free selective combinations. This latter freedom allows an escape from the concrete and real restrictions of past or present events into a world where other possibilities may lie. It is in relation to this other world of possibilities that I suggest that our imaginative talent lies buried and unused. In a response to observed needs we have all heard about open-plan classrooms, setting, team teaching and teachers who write their own reading texts. More recently we have heard about community based learning, school based mini companies, pastoral care programmes and so forth. These are imaginative reactions to these observed needs.

This talent does not stand in isolation. It is very closely linked with those other human capacities which form the basis of our knowing and acting. Imagination is very much involved in our ways of perceiving which is basic for knowing and in our ways of regarding consequences which is basic for acting. As our professional work in school is largely based upon knowing and acting we can ill afford to leave this human talent of imagination unused.

2 Origin

Let us attempt now to look closer into the nature of imagination by initially looking to some of its operations. The old scholastic phrase still holds good "operatio sequitur esse" which signifies that the way a thing works depends upon its nature. We may note that whenever a person has to do anything that is not strictly repetitive he imagines what needs to be done and what are likely to be the consequences before he decides on action. There is an element of seeking (appetitive tendency) in this. There is the seeking for an approach leading to a solution, leading to knowledge, leading to meaning, and also there is a seeking for a 'good' result, an affect. One can see therefore that in some senses this imaginative capability has a deliberate element in deciding on action (the will) and a feeling element in seeking for affect (the emotion). From this it is clear that imagination is essentially part of our very human being linked as it is to our search for understanding and to our search for affect. Imagination and sensibility are closely related as one may regard sensibility as a mode of perceiving, ordering, valuing and realising experience, in part a cognitive, in part an affective operation.[6] It appears then that this capacity is both passive as fancy and active as construction. It can serve two masters: the flesh and the spirit. The repetitive task is based upon fact. The non-repetitive task calls for a new approach. For example, the pupil is asked to write an essay on 'A Day in the Life of a

Newspaper Cameraman'. How does one approach this task? Or given a certain amount of say cardboard (with cellotape, tools . . .) how would you design the *maximum* interior house space? Or you as a teacher have a class not very interested in a section of the history programme. How do you face the challenge? Mechanical responses would be inadequate. One has to imagine and construct new approaches. Hence we have the striving for new perceptions tried out in action. Thus constructive imagination is dominated by this systematic unity of plan which controls and directs the process of selective combination.

Ryle, in his work *The Concept of Mind*, remarked that no one thing can be called imagination but rather, he said, we must consider a variety of activities that are imaginative such as pretending, impersonating, fancying and so forth.[7] Hence the importance of play and make believe for the young. All good teachers realise that there is a world of possibilities in all these areas of role-playing, pretending, supposing, impersonating and so on. Language teaching, history, literature, religion are obvious areas of direct interest. The natural sciences may also be involved especially in the junior classes.

For Piaget, the focus of attention with regard to the place of imagination lies in the natural unfolding of the child's symbolic capacities in accommodating to environmental stimulation (need to reach out) and assimilating these environmental circumstances (seeking for a match or fit or pattern for the stimuli from the environment). Development depends upon both. Assimilation recognises patterns and this sense of achievement or delight promotes further exploration of stimulation. Quite early on (18 months), recognition may be consolidated by make believe. Thus we find that play and make believe are intrinsic features of cognitive and affective development. From here we can see the impulse for potential creativity, exploration, and sensitivity to one's world. Pattern recognition occurs for the young child in speech recognition. Delight at making sense out of a mixture of sounds leads to imitation, trying out a pattern, and later on the child pretends to be mother, or the teacher, or the postman. The recognition of pattern, that is some recognisable structure to stimulation, always gives us a gradual sense of meaning, of control, of expectation. With imagination we may repeat, or anticipate, or re-enact previous stimulation, or devise new styles of stimulation based upon old patterns. We used to be told that one of the essential characteristics of intelligence was the recognition of relationships and, more importantly for the development of intelligence, the building up of new relationships. Logic does play a part but so does this free ranging unrestricted play of the imagination.

To carry the argument a stage further we find H. H. Price in his work on Thinking and Experience writing:

> . . . both words and images are used as symbols. They symbolise in quite different ways, and neither sort of symbolisation is reducible to or dependent on the other. 8

The key to man's cognitive capacity, his capacity to bring meaning to his world, lies largely in this ability to symbolise, that is to represent things, happenings, and feelings. In this way any man recognises patterns in time and in space and over time and over space. He can link patterns to other patterns, develop concepts, create order, strive for meaning. Imagination also uses symbolisation and is thus a part of this great symbolic power. This ability to symbolise is man's great talent which lifts him beyond the 'sensible', the here and now, the immediate. Imagination crosses the three fundamental human characteristics of cognition, conation, and affection or in more familiar language learning, striving and loving. The origin of imagination has the same origin as all these three capacities. It is essentially human in its widest reaches.

What are the uses, then, of this wonderful talent?

3 Uses of Imagination

Imagination functions in two broad ways. It may revive or reproduce past experiences within the context of image or images. Unless there is an abnormal condition these recalled or reproduced images are recognised as past. Somehow, too, imagination is linked to memory where the remembrance of things past is either pleasant or unpleasant in the broadest sense. Consequently in a context of the present this reproductive imagination linked to memory may very readily lead us into an area of judgement which is an act of reason and may lead us into a present decision which is an act of will. On the other hand imagination functions to create something new. The man of science may give rein to his imagination when searching for a possible explanation in the way he frames hypotheses. As the facts become known his freedom to hypothesize becomes correspondingly restricted. From a base of knowledge one sets up a variety of possibilities. This is imaginative activity. The imagination of the poet and the novelist is free from objective restrictions in as much as their mental activity is not immediately directed to the development of knowledge of the real world or to the attainment of practical ends. They intercept reality through their creations. This freedom, like that of the scientist, gradually becomes curtailed and is, of course, not absolute but relative. Imagination gives us a certain power to explore possibilities, to day dream our wishes, to control the environment, to interpret the world, to close the gaps, to spot the ridiculous. If our world were totally quantified, totally fixed, then we would not be in a position to look for the unexpected, to see the unconventional, to break the mould. E. J. Furlong has written:

> . . . to act with imagination is to act with freedom, with spontaneity: it is to break with the trammels of the orthodox of the accepted: it is to be original, constructive[9]

It is clear that imagination is linked to our capacity to know. Some further expansion of this link might be of interest here.

III THE RELATION OF IMAGINATION TO KNOWING

As was mentioned earlier on in this paper imagination is a capacity or power, linked with others, and used when we are seeking meaning or understanding. The scientist hypothesizes using at times imagination to do so. The poet uses imagination to communicate his feelings, his view of man. The novelist uses imagination to give us his interpretation of some aspect of life. The craftsman uses imagination in an effort to visualise or comprehend his particular solution to his particular problem. The medical clinician uses imagination to eliminate hypotheses and to set up others for testing. The teacher uses imagination when he asks how he may introduce a new topic or surmount some classroom obstacle. All of these cases go beyond routine, beyond habitual responses. These cases are seeking meaning, understanding, solutions, approaches. In short, these various forms are seeking knowledge.

Without delving too deeply into the philosophical concepts of knowledge, of which there are a number, it is clear that in one important sense knowledge is a subjective correspondence with external reality. There is an objective concrete reality, knowing which we call knowledge. If my experience does not reach to this objective world how can I contact it. Take for example life among the Eskimos, life in the Sudan, life in the Amazon forests of Brazil. That is one form of reality which without experience I only know through imagination based upon linked experience with the aid of outside information. Something very similar applies in history.

There are, however, other forms of knowledge where we try to understand the patterns, sometimes evident, sometimes not so evident, in the world about us. This is the domain of the scientist, be he a natural scientist, or a social scientist. The search for system or repetitive patterns is greatly aided by imagination which can, in its own fashion, escape beyond the restrictions of present interpretation. A step beyond pattern recognition is the search for causation, another step in our struggle for meaning, for understanding. Sometimes logic may lead us from effect to cause; other times a free wheeling play within the imagination may help. Finally, knowledge is also concerned with purpose. Why is that so? Imagination can play a part here too. As Kant once said let us work on the base of an 'as if'. May I stress, however, that imagination is not knowledge. It is a human capacity to aid our thinking, our reasoning, our judgement. The outcomes of imagination will be judged by their correspondence with reality, with reason, with logic, and with proof.

In popular usage imagination is generally held to be the power for forming mental images or other concepts not directly derived from sensation. Yet, in spite of popular usage, the majority of philosophers from Aristotle to Kant considered imagination in relation to knowledge or opinion. Many considered imagination as an element in knowledge or as an obstacle to it, especially where fancy runs riot. Hume said that imagination was vital to knowledge.[10] This view was supported by Kant who wrote about imagination ". . . without which we would have no knowledge whatever . . .". In his view reproductive imagination helps to complete our perceptions, for example, that a cube has six sides, even if we can only see three. Further he maintained that the productive imagination was the "transcendental synthesis of imagination which combines our experience into a single connected whole".[11] 'Transcendental' in this context means conditions of possibility. For him the productive imagination makes possible the linking up of experience without which the world would represent a chaotic confusion of diverse unconnected elements. Just as memory links my present to my past as a known continuum so too imagination plays a rather similar role in helping to shape varieties of experience into a connected whole.

If I may refer to Wordsworth's poem 'The Prelude'. In this poem Wordsworth shows the link between imagination and knowing for in 'The Prelude' reason means intellect enlivened by feeling, made nervous by sensibility, dignified by a concern for value and intimately connected with words (part VI, lines 113-134). Above all, according to William Walsh, it means intellect kindled by imagination for at the highest stage Wordsworth will allow no division between these.[12]

As Jerome L. Singer writes:

> This human capacity to behave in the subjective mood, so to speak, implies an early development of flexibility in dealing with concrete objects of the human environment, and may be one of the keys to ultimate adult creativity and ability to control the environment as well as a basis for some of the more complex subtleties and difficulties in interpersonal relationships that beset men and women. [13]

To advance knowledge - even on a minute personal scale - implies flexibility, creativity and sensitivity. In the area of human relations, no small part of human activity, imagination plays no small part. To appreciate the other, his problems, his difficulties, his particular circumstances demands a sensitivity which is unknown to the self-centred to those lacking imagination, to those locked within the, perhaps, limited parameters of their own experience. Imaginative sensitivity allows me to be 'the other' whether headmaster, colleague, or pupil. This, too, is a form of knowing.

One interesting comment in this whole area is concerned with truth. Some would argue that if we say 'imagine', we are dealing in supposition and because 'imagine' is not real it is therefore false. This is a great mistake. Truth may be proven through replication. There is one form. Truth may also lie in a perception which, either then or maybe later, may not be replicable but is none the less true.

Finally, let it be said that there is no real basis for feeling that the procedure of representing objects or other events through representations such as models or images is any less "natural" than describing them by means of words. We are a verbal society. Our education is verbal. This is good as language is perhaps man's greatest talent to symbolize, to show pattern, to draw out meaning. Imagination also is a way of symbolising. There is no good reason to discard one because the other is a way of symbolising. There is no good reason to discard one because the other is well developed. Perhaps we tend to over emphasise the word at the expense of imagination. Let us now turn our attention more specifically to the connection between imagination and the education process. Much of what has been already discussed is equally relevant if not so specific.

IV IMAGINATION AND THE EDUCATION PROCESS

> One or two simple examples may not be amiss.
>
> Probably most of us would agree that the *purpose of a teacher* is to guide his pupil towards new and richer experience, towards eliciting the meaning of that experience and composing it into a coherent pattern, with the aim finally of increasing the pupil's power of action. *Education*, that is, begins with the particular, goes on to theory in the widest sense, namely the study of structure and organisation, and concludes again in a heightened sense of the particular. If it does not begin with the particular, then it will not be personally significant to the pupil; if it does not go on to a general explanation, then it will not extend consciounness and promote the grasp of principle but merely inculcate a clumsy rule of thumb; if it does not bring about increased power over the particular, then it will be no more than theoretical and academic in the worst way. 14

The act of knowing, one of the high points of education, centres around two distinct impulses of the mind which are related by a mutual tension and support. One is an eagerness to light on the highest degree of individuality of things and the other is a concern to generalise, to establish an order of thought among the particulars. The full act of understanding, the full act of knowing is only created by the union of these two impulses of the mind.[15]

I recall a rather intriguing start to a lesson in science. The opening remarks were "How is it that electricity can boil water and freeze water?" For a young class of 12 or 13 year olds that was a rather riveting opening. I also recall a number of other similar incidents. For example the key to one problem lay in realizing that 8 was the same as 10 minus 2. Another interesting point was that the stone spiral staircase in old castles always curved to the left thus giving advantage to the right handed sword defenders. I remember asking a boy one time what did he see as the difference between a very large lake and the sea. He gave me a one word reply: 'power'. These are very simple illustrations of the force which a little imagination can have.

For the teacher imagination is a talent which greatly comes to the aid of the teacher's professional skills. There are three main uses all of which are very obvious and do not need stressing. Imagination can play a part in the teacher's out of class preparations - mental set, presentation, attack, questioning. Secondly imagination plays a part in one's approach to one's subject. This is indeed extremely important for interest, for motivation, for new insights, for keeping one fully alive to the possibilities and beauty in one's discipline. One of my most impressive memories was of a mathematics teacher who really opened our eyes to the aesthetic element in the neatness and economy of a solution. Thirdly, the teacher uses his own imaginative approaches to stimulate the imagination of the pupils. For instance in Geography a well known concept is to talk about the "personality"of a particular area. In History one may talk about reconstructing the life of a typical person, village, farm or factory. Needless to say it is not all imagination. Certain facts and ideas have to be learned. Certain skills have to be acquired. As was mentioned earlier much of the work in our schools is factual, uniform and convergent. Imagination can add a further dimension to these necessary modes of knowing.

But in its own right imagination can contribute to new ways of perceiving and thus aid a creative process. We must not lose sight of the fact that the mind is a shaper and not just a receptacle of its experience. This point takes on a great deal of importance in the area of curriculum development. Elliot W. Eisner in his work on The Educational Imagination writes:

> Curriculum development is the process of transforming images and aspirations about education into programs that will effectively realize the visions that initiated the process. I use the term images and aspirations intentionally. 16

and again he notes:

> Goals and content are necessary but not sufficient for the development of a curriculum. The educational imagination must come into play in order to transform goals and content to the kinds of events that will have educational consequences for students. 17

Teaching is an art and imagination is always involved in art. There are four main aspects of teaching all of which echo many of the points being made in this paper. Teaching is a skill with an aesthetic element. Teaching implies judgement as things unfold. Good teaching is not dominated by routine; in short there is a freedom there. Lastly, as in all art, ends are often created in process. In talking about imagination in school it is well to recall the various happenings which seem to be inhibiting the use of imagination. I feel sometimes that the professional aspect of teaching is being whittled away by the way subject syllabi are structured and presented, by the nature of our examination system, by the increasing use of 'experts' such as guidance counsellors, school psychologists, health officials, pastoral care personnel. Many of these things, however good and necessary they may be are really marginal to the work of the teacher who is at the very centre of the education process which is in the classroom. Too many outside agencies with some decision making authority gradually leave less and less to the imaginative grasp of the professional in the face of an unfolding context for which no routine or guidelines will ever be adequate. It is at the root of action that the quality of practice will be determined.

The basic question for all teachers is : What ideal do you wish to bring to life? Our challenge is to give that ideal life. No one can say that imagination is not involved in that process.

> What enters into our being as a result of school and college is a blend of values, attitudes and assumption, a certain moral tone, a special quality of imagination, a particular flavour of sensibility - the things that constituted the soul of our education. 18

It would appear that the disposition most valuable in education is closer to the poetic than to the mathematical intelligence. This is not an either or situation. It is simply expressing a type of priority.

Finally I would like to take a look at educational research. In my view educational research should be more directly located through a reflective and sensitive appraisal of actual classroom behaviour. Too much of current educational research is dominated by the social science model of data, which is then removed from source and analysed numerically leading to averages expressed in quantities. There is, of course, a place for that kind of research. I have done quite an amount myself and have supervised quite a great deal more. Nevertheless more concentration on perceiving classroom subtleties and nuances would further our developing insights into classroom behaviour. Imagination would be of help here.

If I may quote Eisner on this he writes:

> What I believe we need are approaches to the study of educational problems that give full range to the varieites of rationality of which humans are capable, that are not linked to one set of assumptions about how we come to know, that use methods outside of as well as inside the social sciences to describe, to interpret, and to evaluate what occurs in schools. Orthodoxy often creates blinkers to new possibilities, and I believe the field of education has worn blinkers for too long. 20

An observation by Thomas S. Kuhn whose work on The Structure of Scientific Revolutions caused quite a stir, might be of interest in the broad context of research.

> The transition from a paradigm in crisis to a new one from which a new tradition of normal science can emerge is far from a cumulative process, one achieved by an articulation or extension of the old paradigm. Rather it is a reconstruction that changes some of the field's most elementary theoretical generalizations as well as many of its paradigm methods and applications.

Finally in any profession dealing with people both science and art will be involved. Science will occupy much time in acquiring the academic foundation of one's professional discipline whereas the art plays its part in the actual exercise of the discipline through contact with people. This is very true of teaching. Science and Art give us different perspectives. Science focuses on the unique characteristics of the particulars themselves. Ernest Cassirer in his Essay on Man expresses a very interesting viewpoint which has very direct implications for us as teachers. He writes

> The two views of truth are in contrast with one another, but not in conflict or

> contradiction. Since art and science move in entirely different planes they cannot contradict or thwart one another. The conceptual interpretation of science does not preclude the intuitive interpretation of art. Each has its own perspective and, so to speak, its own angle of refraction . . . In ordinary experiences we connect phenomena according to the cagegory of causality or finality. According as we are interested in the theoretical reasons for the practical effects of things, we think of them as causes or as means. Thus, we habitually lose sight of their immediate appearance until we can no longer see them face to face. Art, on the other hand, teaches us to visualize, not merely to conceptualize or utilize things. Art gives a richer more vivid and colorful image of reality, and a more profound insight into its formal structure. It is characteristic of the nature of man that he is not limited to one specific and single approach to reality but can choose his point of view and so pass from one aspect of things to another. 21

Finally let me finish with a remark made by Walsh written over a quarter of a century ago and indeed much more relevant today than then.

> Meanness of understanding, ugliness of milieu, the attitudes of the robot, these are the characteristics of an age suffering from the anaemia of the imagination, the organ most vividly and intimately concerned with life . . . The consequences of a life lived or gone through with a starved imagination is boredom'. The consequences of a life lived or gone through with a starved imagination is boredom 'the great and total fruit of our civilization'. Man is bored because he experiences nothing and he experiences nothing because the wonder has gone out of him. 22

. . . .

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
and know the place for the first time.

T. S. Eliot.

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SCHOOL CHOICE AND SCHOOL CATCHMENT : POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION IN GALWAY CITY

Seamus Grimes

While research to date at the national level has adequately illustrated the nature and extent of class bias in Irish education, there has been little attempt to examine the spatial organisation of the system at the local level. Research in Britain on the other hand has shown how catchment areas can become barriers, dividing children along social class lines.[1] This paper argues the need to carry out a spatial analysis of the educational system, and in focussing on post-primary education in Galway, it examines the varying degrees of educational opportunity throughout the composite catchment area.

Since the introduction of free education in 1967 the nubers in secondary schools have increased by two-thirds.[2] There has been only a small increase, however, in participation in secondary education by children from low status families, and early drop-out rates among these groups remain high. Rottman claims that the Irish educational system reflects social class barriers and that the privilege of the upper and middle classes is being perpetuated through the system.[3]

The most discernible manifestation of this class bias is in the allocation of pupils to either secondary or vocational schools resulting in considerable career consequences for those involved. The majority of secondary schools are state financed, and yet they retain complete autonomy in their enrolment procedures. In many cases these schools have become increasingly selective, giving preference to pupils from their associated junior sections. Vocational schools, on the other hand, are almost exclusively working-class and their technical education is predominantly male. Generally these schools have to deal with more than their fair share of pupils who have suffered educational disadvantage in primary school.

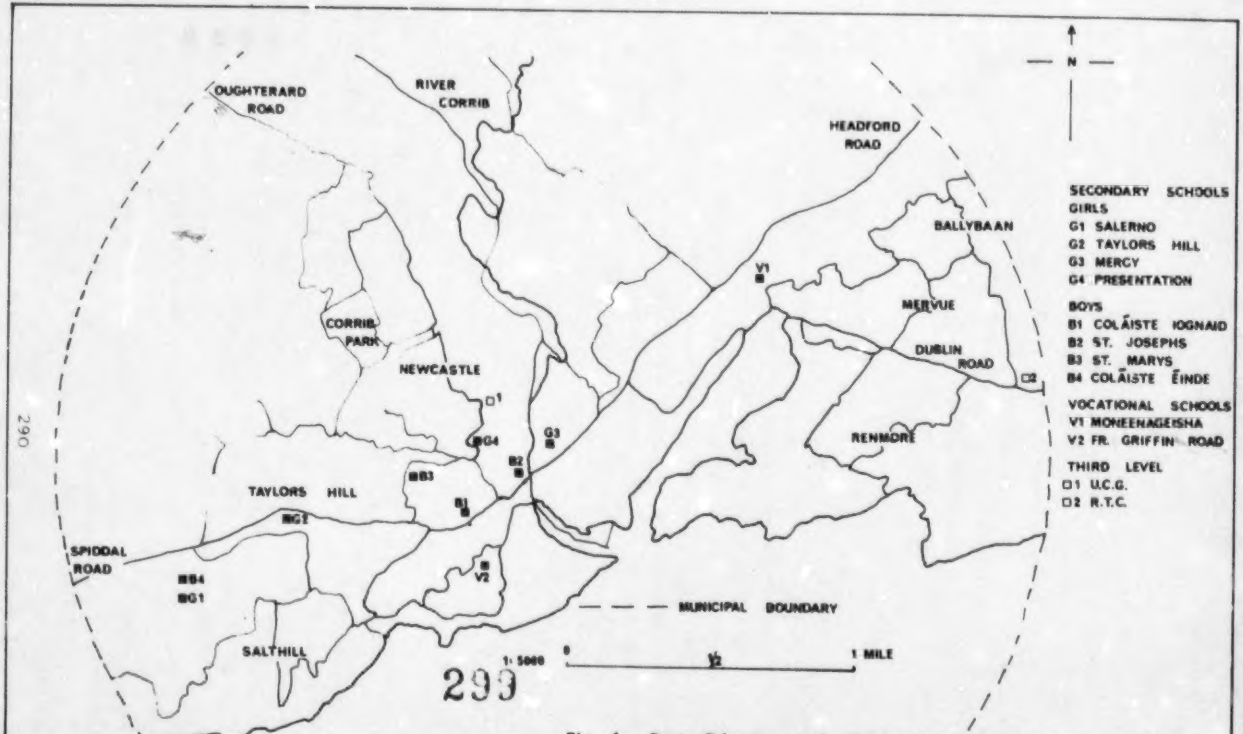
Since entry into professional occupations is largely mediated through secondary education and in particular through the Leaving Certificate, occupational opportunities for working class pupils and those from a small farm background have become considerably restricted. In a period when educational requirements for job opportunities have escalated rapidly, children from low income households face a greater likelihood of unemployment because they lack the necessary qualifications. Many factors account for the alienation of such pupils from the more prestigious post-primary schools and from third level institutions. Among the more significant factors accounting for this class bias is the considerable income disparity between different groups which results in low income households being unable to subsidise their children's continuing in education.

It might be argued that the educational system is designed to provide differential opportunities appropriate to one's state in life, and there was something systematic about failure and success. The recent analysis of participation rates in third level education reveals the extent of the gap between social groups.[4] Thus three-quarters of children from higher professional, half from lower professional, eight per cent from manual workers and five per cent from unskilled manual and agricultural labourer backgrounds had attained third level. While the university was characterised by the highest degree of disparity between social groups, the Regional Technical Colleges showed some improvement regarding mobility. Yet these institutions were being availed of predominantly by middle and upper class students, mainly from secondary schools. Statistical analysis of our educational system, therefore, gives a rather hollow ring to the government guarantee that any pupil, no matter what his ability or social background should have the right of entry to any post-primary school supported by State funds.[5]

As a city evolves, a variety of neighbourhood types emerge, differentiated in terms of socio-economic status. The clearest medium of such differentiation is housing tenure, and the most radical divide lies between the public housing of corporation estates and the privately owned areas of middle and upper income groups. Geographic variation in the quality of schools tends to be closely related to the spatial differentiation of residential areas on class lines. An important consequence of this is that schools tend to be homogeneous in the social composition of their intake. In considering the factors influencing school choice and the formation of school catchments in Galway, therefore, the extent of segregation within the post-primary system will be considered.

The Galway context

To delineate the boundary of the Galway city post-primary catchment area, the address lists of pupils in the ten city post-primary schools were obtained and analysed. The catchment boundary was marked by a number of villages in the rural hinterland: the western extent was Spiddal, in the north were Oughterard and Headford, on eith side of Lough Corrib, and in the southeast was Clarinbridge. Within this composite catchment area there were 2,622 households with 4,530


OUGHTERARD ROAD
RIVER CORRIB
HEADFORD ROAD
N
SECONDARY SCHOOLS
GIRLS
G1 SALERNO
G2 TAYLORS HILL
G3 MERCY
G4 PRESENTATION
BOYS
B1 COLÁISTE IOGNAID
B2 ST. JOSEPHS
B3 ST. MARYS
B4 COLÁISTE ÉINDE
VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS
V1 MONEENAGEISHA
V2 FR. GRIFFIN ROAD
THIRD LEVEL
□1 U.C.G.
□2 R.T.C.
BALLYBAAN
V1
MERVUE
CORRIB PARK
NEWCASTLE
DUBLIN ROAD
□2
□1
G4
G3
B2
B3
B1
RENMORE
TAYLORS HILL
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MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY
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Fig. 1. Post-Primary and Third Level Instutions in Galway

pupils, attending the ten post-primary schools in the school year 1982-1983.

With ten post-primary schools in the city, four secondary schools for girls, four for boys and two vocational schools, the catchment area was apparently adequately catered for. The schools varied in size from less than 300 to more than 600 pupils. The location of the ten schools is shown in Fig. 1 and it is clear that there is an imbalanced distribution between the east and west sides of the city. Prior to the 1960s, the post-primary population of the city was weighted towards the area west of the Corrib river which divides the city in two, and to some extent this accounts for the uneven distribution of schools. Since the 1960s, however, the city catchment area has been evenly balanced between the two sections of the city. Apart from the establishment of a community college on the east side of the city, there has been no other response to the changing pattern of the post-primary population.

In addition to the western section of the city being more favoured regarding accessibility to post-primary schools, the most prestigious of the secondaries, particularly in the case of girls' secondaries, were located in the most westerly part of the city, thus creating considerable frictional distance for pupils residing east of the Corrib. It is important to note that the urban primary schools feeding these post-primaries also had an imbalanced locational pattern. Only three of the 14 primary schools were located in the east. Two of these were among the largest primaries in the city, reflecting the more recent development of these suburbs, and the tendency to construct larger primary schools than heretofore.

A significant aspect of the western concentration of primary schools was the fact that junior sections of

300

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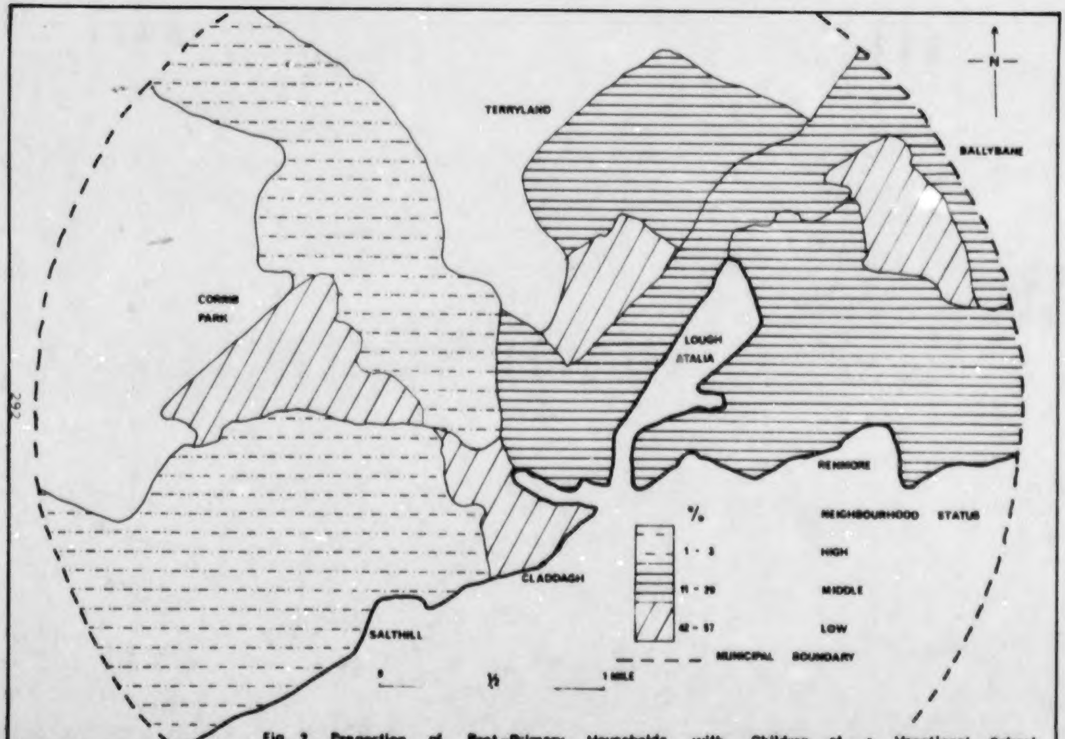
N
TERRYLAND
BALLYBANE
CORRIB PARK
LOUGH ATALIA
RENMORE
CLADDAGH
SALTHILL
%
NEIGHBOURHOOD STATUS
1 - 3
HIGH
11 - 29
MIDDLE
42 - 57
LOW
MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY
0
½
1 MILE

Fig. 2 Proportion of Post-Primary Households with Children at a Vocational School

the prestigious secondary schools were also located in this area, thereby restricting access to such secondary schools for households in the east. Despite the poor accessibility of eastern households there was an interesting contrast, in pupil flows, between the predominantly working-class corporation estate of Mervue and the mainly middle-class private housing area of Renmore. The pattern for working-class pupils was for the majority of boys and some of the girls to attend the nearby vocational school. Many of the girls from Mervue, however, attended the nearest secondary school. In the private housing areas, on the other hand, there was a strong tendency for girls to attend the prestigious secondary schools in the western part of the city. The connecting bus route between Renmore and Taylors Hill facilitated the desire in this area to benefit from these western located schools.

Whatever about distinctions between catchment areas of the different post-primary schools, the most significant aspect was the propensity of households in different areas to send pupils to a vocational school. Fig. 2 illustrates this pattern which coincides very closely with the socio-economic status of Galway neighbourhoods and their associated housing classes. The proportion of vocational households in low income corporation estates ranged between 40 and almost 60 per cent, while in high status areas the proportion varied between one and three per cent. The catchment areas of the two Galway city vocational schools - which displayed little overlap across the Corrib - were predominantly composed of urban working-class pupils together with considerable numbers from small farm households in the hinterland.

Methodology

To ascertain some of the causes underlying such a segregated post-primary system, a random sample of 300 post-primary households was interviewed during 1983. The sample was restricted to six major urban areas representing the social classes, together with two rural areas representing the east and west sections of the hinterland. Mervue and Corrib Park represented working class areas, Renmore and Ballybaan middle class, and Newcastle and Salthill upper class areas. Claregalway District Electoral Division represented the east side and Barna District Electroal Division represented the west side of the rural hinterland.

The variables examined in the study included household status, educational background of post-primary members, and the factors influencing school choice. Crosstabulation of these variables was carried out with the SPSS Computer programme, and the discussion is restricted to associations with a significance level of 0.05 or less.

Background Characteristics

Before turning to interrelationships between these factors the characteristics of sample households will be considered. Three dimensions of household socio-economic status - occupational category, educational level and household income - were examined. These characteristics displayed considerable differences between the social areas in the sample. Newcastle, Salthill and Barna, areas of high socio-economic status, consisted mainly of higher professional and salaried workers. More than 70 per cent of parents in these areas had an educational level of Leaving Certificate or higher, and the majority of households had an income in excess of £10,000.

At the other extreme of the socio-economic status spectrum were Corrib Park and Mervue, where workers were mainly skilled or semi-skilled. Educational background was low, with 40 per cent of parents in both areas and in rural Claregalway having only a Primary Certificate. In fact, half of the Mervue fathers, and 60 per cent of Claregalway fathers were at this educational level. Household incomes in these areas were generally well below £10,000. As many as 42 per cent of the sample households were in the £5,000 to £10,000 income range. The intermediate areas between these two extremes were middle class Renmore and Ballybaan, consisting mainly of skilled or salaried workers.

An interesting aspect which reflects both the role of migration in the recent expansion of Galway city, and also the significant status variations between the city neighbourhoods, is the birthplace of parents. Galway city-born fathers were most numerous in working-class Mervue and Corrib Park, where they constituted 54 per cent of the total. Elsewhere in middle and upper income areas the proportion of Galway city-born fathers varied between 15 and 25 per cent. Between 70 and 80 per cent of fathers in high status areas, therefore, were from outside the city, often being migrants from elsewhere in the country. Both in the urban areas and in the rural hinterland, the dichotomy between the native population and 'blow-ins' from elsewhere reflected a significant status difference, with the in-migrant population being predominantly middle or upper class.

School choice

In contrast to the suggestion by Kellaghan and Greaney that social status is unlikely to be casually related to the type of school a child attends, this study found that all three dimensions of household socio-economic status had a profound impact on school choice.[6] Vocational schools were much more likely to be chosen by households where the father had a Primary Certificate than by those where he had a Leaving Certificate or higher standard of education. The bias towards vocational schools were strong among those in the unskilled and intermediate occupational categories. Involvement in contact networks associated with trade-related occupations would influence the perception of these parents regarding employment opportunities to be gained from vocational education. There was evidence, however, of a growing interest among middle-class families also in apprenticeship opportunities in recent years.

While the myth of free education may mask various direct and indirect costs to parents, the role of household income in influencing school choice was clear. Vocational schools were the preferred choice of the less well-off. Not only was there a definite distinction of school type according to income, there was also a clear pattern between income level and the ten different schools. The eastern located vocational school was the most popular choice of households with less than £10,000, while the most frequently chosen girls' secondary by such households was the school located closest to the eastern part of the city. Households with £10,000 or more, on the other hand, opted for the prestigious secondary schools in the west.

In choosing one of the post-primaries a household is unlikely to consider the whole range of schools that is available. Also many households had children attending a number of different post-primaries and this presents problems for summarising the overall pattern. It is possible, however, to examine the extent to which alternative schools, other than the chosen ones, were considered. For girls a narrow range of choice was general, with alternative schools being considered in only one quarter of cases. There was, however, a significant difference between the secondaries, with only 10 per cent considering an alternative in the case of one of the prestigious schools, compared with 42 per cent in the most easterly located girls' secondary. An excess demand for places in the prestigious schools was evident, with numerous applicants being disappointed.

Such a narrow range of choice did not characterise the boys' schools, where in 42 per cent of cases alternatives were considered. A clear trend emerged for many households, particularly in the east side of the city, to send a boy to a vocational school and a girl to a secondary school.

Interviewees were questioned regarding who made the choice of school, and it was found that 73 per cent of parents - occasionally in conjunction with their children - decided which school they should attend. Parents were most influential regarding school choice in high status Newcastle, where 80 per cent made the decision, and this contrasted with rural Claregalway where only 49 per cent chose the school. The prestigious schools stood out with about 90 per cent of parents choosing the school, but the main distinction was between vocational and secondary school pupils. Vocational pupils chose their own school in 38 per cent of cases, which was twice the proportion of secondary pupils.

A manifestation of the greater degree of discernment of well-informed parents was their tendency to by-pass the local primary school in favour of a junior section of a prestigious post-primary. Greater physical mobility allowed them to ensure placement of their children in their preferred secondary. While overall, only 16 per cent of sample pupils did not attend their local primary, as many as 39 per cent of Newcastle pupils and 32 per cent of Barna pupils by-passed the local school. As many as one-quarter of pupils at the prestigious schools for girls did not attend their local primary, and the proportion for non-attendance in one of the prestigious boys' secondaries was 46 per cent.

Only five per cent of the sample failed to obtain a place in their most preferred school, and most of these were girls who were not admitted to either of the two prestigious schools. In addition to the excess demand for places, such failure often resulted from not having booked a place for a sufficiently long period in advance. While advance booking was unnecessary in most schools, 45 per cent of pupils in one of the prestigious schools for girls had booked a place for a year or more in advance.

A consequence of school choice is the difference between the school and the pupil's home, and this in turn affects the likelihood of having lunch at home as opposed to in the school. In Salthill, with a high degree of accessibility to post-primary schools, 92 per cent of pupils went home for lunch, compared with only 37 per cent in Renmore and Ballybaan. The contrast between these middle class areas in the east where pupils had inconvenienced themselves to attend prestigious post-primaries, and the working class area of Mervue where 61 per cent of pupils had lunch at home, was significant. Many of the latter pupils, as was pointed out previously, attended the nearby vocational school.

Parents were questioned regarding their assessment of schools in terms of academic performance and discipline. The assessment took the form of a rating between one and three, and since an uncritical approach to schools was widespread, particularly among the less well educated parents, the results should be treated with caution. The most critical assessment came from households in Salthill and Newcastle, where most pupils attended the prestigious secondary schools. In one of the boys' secondaries, for example, only half the parents awarded it the highest rating for academic performance. Only 60 per cent of parents gave a similar rating to one of the prestigious schools for girls. Both of these above-menionted schools received low ratings for discipline, with only 36 per cent of parents awarding a high rating to the girls' school. The high level of expectation of parents sending children to these schools partly explains the critical assessment which they received.

One factor which was likely to affect parental rating of schools was the extent of contact which parents had with teachers. An EEC survey in 1983 revealed very low levels of parent-teacher contact in Ireland; this is partly a consequence of the ban placed by teachers on holding meetings outside school hours.[7]

Such contact in the Galway schools cut across class lines, although Newcastle, with 75 per cent, had the highest proportion of parents who had contact with teachers during the previous year. The eastern suburb of Renmore, on the other hand, has the much lower proportion of 46 per cent. Generally working class areas and vocational schools scored well in this regard, and the lowest level of contact at 34 per cent characterised the same girls' secondary mentioned above which received the most critical parental assessment.

School choices was also closely related to the future aspirations held by pupils. Overall only nine per cent of the sample planned to leave school early. In one of the vocational schools, however, as many as 19 per cent of pupils planned to leave after reaching 15 years of age.

Half of the children whose fathers had only a primary education planned to seek employment upon finishing school, compared with only 13 per cent of those whose fathers' education was Leaving Certificate or higher. The corollary of this was that 72 per cent of pupils from high status homes hoped to pursue third level education, and this was twice the proportion of pupils from primary educated households. While only 12 per cent of vocational pupils considered any form of third level education, and this was twice the proportion of pupils from primary educated households. While only 12 per cent of vocational pupils considered any form of third level education, 40 per cent of secondary pupils hoped to attend university.

Educational outcomes

Some of the causes of the highly segregated pattern of school choice have been considered: it now remains to look at some of the consequences. Two brief follow-up surveys of Galway city post-primary school leavers were conducted. One dealt with applications for apprenticeships and the second with entrants to the two third-level colleges in the city.

Table 1 shows that while applicants for apprenticeships from working class areas outnumbered those from middle and upper income areas in 1981, this was not the case in 1982. Working class applicants were reasonably successful as they proceeded through the various I.Q. tests which formed the basis for selection. The majority of these applicants came from a vocational school.

An interesting trend in the data was the strong competition for apprenticeships from one of the boys' secondary schools. The academic orientation of the selection process apparently gives an advantage to secondary pupils and it has resulted in raising the level of basic requirements to obtain an apprenticeship.

In a study of apprentice performance it was found that the more successful apprentice tended to be more intelligent, more verbally gifted, more numerate, and to be more likely to have completed the Leaving Certificate than his less successful peer.[8]

Third level students

Table 2 shows the number of entrants from the city post-primary schools to University College Galway between 1977 and 1982, and to the Regional Technical College between 1980 and 1982, according to their residential areas. Almost three-quarters of city-based students at University College Galway came from the high status areas of Salthill and Newcastle, while only 5.5 per cent came from working-class neighbourhoods. This high level of imbalance in neighbourhood participation rates in Galway reflects the national trend according to socio-economic status as revealed by Clancy's study. The high degree of disparity at third level must be related back to the imbalanced participation rates of different neighbourhoods in vocational education.

Table 2 also reveals that the highest proportion

TABLE 1 Applicants for AnCO apprenticeships 1981 and 1982 from Galway city post-primary schools

Area	Total No. of applicants	Vocational School applicants		Applicants submitted to AnCO		Successful applicants from Voc. school	
	(N)	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
1981							
Social Status							
Low	52	37	66.6	30	53.5	19	63.3
Middle	27	16	59.2	9	33.3	7	77.7
High	17	2	11.7	7	41.1	0	0.0
Rural East	18	14	77.7	10	55.5	6	60.0
Rural West	19	10	52.6	7	36.8	5	71.4
1982							
Social Status							
Low	61	43	70.5	25	40.9	13	52.0
Middle	34	16	47.0	12	35.3	3	25.0
High	34	9	26.4	8	23.5	2	25.0
Rural East	34	29	85.3	5	14.7	2	40.0
Rural West	24	16	66.6	13	54.1	9	69.2

TABLE 2 Third Level Education in Galway City

	University College Galway 1977-1982		
Urban Areas Social Status	No. of Entrants	% Urban	% Total
Low	33	5.5	4.7
Middle	127	20.5	18.2
High	452	73.8	64.7
Rural Hinterland			
Rural East	29		4.1
Rural West	57		8.2
	Regional Technical College Galway 1980-1982		
Low	49	20.5	16.2
Middle	82	34.3	27.1
High	108	45.2	35.7
Rural Hinterland			
Rural East	25		8.3
Rural West	38		12.6

of entrants to the Regional Technical College Galway came from the high status areas, but in this case the proportion was only 35.7 per cent. All other parts of the catchment area, therefore, were much more evenly balanced in their participation rates. This data indicates, therefore, that the Regional Technical College had considerable impact in raising access of low income households to third level education. It should be noted, however, that 94 per cent of these students came from secondary rather than vocational schools.

Conclusion

Post-primary education in Galway city is highly segregated, with the main dividing line lying between vocational and secondary schools. Studies at the national level indicate the relatively advantaged position of Galway educationally and yet there is a serious level of uneven access. High status neighbourhoods almost completely shun whatever vocational schools have to offer, while more than half the working class households send at least one child to these schools. A consequence of this uneven participation pattern was that three-quarters of Galway city students entering University College Galway came from the high status neighbourhoods of Salthill and Newcastle, while only five per cent were derived from corporation estates.

Such a pattern raises fundamental questions about the basis of vocational education. Even its traditional role of preparing early leavers for apprenticeships is gradually being taken over by the secondary school. The vocational school, therefore, is being left the task of caring for the educationally disadvantaged, many of whom will face long-term unemployment. The location these schools next door to corporation estates has resulted in homogeneous catchment areas of low income households.

The proposal to build a new post-primary school on the east side of the city could improve considerably the access of households to a choice of post-primary education in that part of the city. An urgent need exists to modify existing flow patterns. As greater numbers face the prospect of long-term unemployment, a more serious effort is required to remove the present level of determinism from the educational system.

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